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ABSTRACT

This report provides data on standard and non-standard African language varieties occurring in urban areas of South Africa, drawn from nine smaller reports. It illustrates the language use patterns in black urban communities and describes the language varieties spoken in them. It was found that the impact of non-standard varieties on the use of standard African languages is reflected clearly in their grammatical systems. Main sources of influence are the European languages of daily contact. Grammatical adaptation of the standard African languages, in the form of lexical adoption from foreign languages, is a major focus of the report. Implications of the study's results for African language planning and for education are discussed. Chapters address these topics: research origins, background, and methodology; theoretical bases in research on sociolinguistics, multilingualism, language change, linguistic borrowing, language variation, and language use within a speech community; language use patterns in black urban communities, both general and specific; the nature of phonological change; the nature of morphological change; syntactic change; semantic shift; language interference in the schools; language planning in this context; and implications for South African education policy and practice. Contains 124 references. (MSE)

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Main Report for the STANON Research Programme

Karen Calteaux

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Standard and non-standard African language varieties in the urban areas of South Africa

Main Report for the
STANON Research Programme

Karen Calteaux

HSRC Publishers
Pretoria
1996

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Afr.	Afrikaans
BUV	Black Urban Vernacular
CS	Codeswitching
D & V	Doke & Vilakazi (Zulu - English Dictionary)
Eng.	English
GDA	Greater Durban Area
MOI	Medium of instruction
NSo.	Northern Sotho
Pta.So.	Pretoria Sotho
Pta.Ts.	Pretoria Tsonga
So.	Sotho
SSo.	Southern Sotho
Sw.	Swati
Ts.	Tsonga
Tsw.	Tswana
Ve.	Venda
X.	Xhosa
Z.	Zulu

Note:

The editor apologises for the use of the diacritic " ̲ " which appears in certain Venda examples instead of the correct subscript " ̭ " which is normally used to indicate interdental sounds. This is due to a technical problem which could not be resolved at the time of publication. The editor apologises for any inconvenience caused by this error and hopes that readers will not take offence at the use of the incorrect diacritic.

PREFACE

This report is the consolidated Main Report of the STANON Research Programme on ***standard and non-standard African language varieties in the urban areas of South Africa***. It has been compiled from data presented in nine subreports for the Programme. The research presented in the subreports was mainly conducted by mother tongue speakers of the African languages, and investigated the impact of non-standard varieties of the African languages on the use of the standard varieties of these languages, in various spheres. This research was conducted country-wide as part of a Research Programme co-ordinated by the HSRC.

The report illustrates the language use patterns in black urban communities, and describes the language varieties which are spoken in these communities. In these multilingual communities, where common (mixed or non-standard) media of communication are vital and a fact of life, the standard African languages are in danger of becoming unviable modes of communication. Standard languages are no longer learnt as first languages in most of these urban homes, resulting in various problems in terms of education and challenges in terms of language planning.

The impact of the non-standard varieties on the use of the standard African languages, is starkly reflected in the grammatical systems of these languages. The main sources of influence are the European languages with which the African languages come into contact on a daily basis. Grammatical adaptation of the standard African languages in the form of adoption of lexical items from foreign languages, forms a major part of the report. This influence is presented in terms of phonological, morphological, syntactic, and semantic changes to the lexicons of the African languages, in their attempt to adapt to developments in their environment.

The importance of the research presented here in terms of language planning for the African languages (with regard to modernisation) and more especially in terms of education, is discussed. As the African languages are newly appointed official languages, planning for them should be goal-directed and aim at equipping them to fulfil their new role. The research presented here provides input for the modernisation of the African languages. In light of the problems already faced in black education, it is imperative that the implications of this research for the teaching of the African languages, especially in terms of the approach of mother tongue as medium of instruction, be given serious consideration.

This Research Programme has enjoyed the support of the African Language Association of Southern Africa (ALASA) and the (earlier) Department of Education and Training (DET) since its inception. Their support is greatly valued and appreciated. In addition, without the efforts of the nine researchers, and the members of the various STANON committees, the compilation of this Report would not have been possible. To everyone involved in this project: **Ningadinwa nangomuso!**

A draft version of this report was circulated to members of the STANON Executive and Main Committees. Their comments and contributions have gratefully been included and the report is published with their approval and support.

Karen Calteaux
(Project Co-ordinator)

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

1.1 BACKGROUND

In 1987, the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) in collaboration with the African Language Association of Southern Africa (ALASA) and the then Department of Education and Training (DET), launched a research programme entitled: ***Standard and non-standard African language varieties in the urban areas of South Africa***, abbreviated and widely known as **the STANON programme**.

The programme was to be guided by a Main Committee initially consisting of 24 experts in African languages, under the chairmanship of Professor EB van Wyk (RAU). The Main Committee met for the first time on 2 November 1987, and appointed nine Work Committees, one for each African language. During its first meeting, the Main Committee also established the aims and themes of the research programme as follows:

- to describe the differences between the nine standard African languages (i.e. Zulu, Xhosa, Swazi, Ndebele, Northern Sotho, Southern Sotho, Tswana, Venda and Tsonga) and their non-standard varieties in selected areas of South Africa
- to describe the influence of the non-standard varieties on the use of the standard varieties in selected areas
- to make recommendations if and where required on these differences and/or influences for language education, language planning and other areas.

In so doing:

- to enhance the quality of life of all South Africans with regard to language and communication
- to promote research on the nine African languages spoken in South Africa as well as the development of these languages
- to involve mother tongue speakers in a country-wide scientific research programme
- to make a valuable contribution to the teaching of the African languages in schools.

With these aims in mind, five research themes were identified as guidelines for research pertaining to this programme, with the option of adding more themes at a later stage. These were:

- the functions and status of the language varieties
- the differences between home language and standard language
- the differences between colloquial language and standard language
- the influence of the non-standard on the standard outside the school
- the influence of the non-standard on the standard at school.

It was **initially** planned that there would be one study per language for each of these five themes, which would result in 1 x 5 themes x 9 languages = 45 studies in total. As these themes were only meant as broad guidelines for the research, proposals for these studies were not required to adhere strictly to these themes. In the final analysis, the following 13 studies

were undertaken within the STANON programme, and the first 9 were completed in time for inclusion in this Main Report:

Subreports completed:

CALTEAUX, KV. 1994. ***A sociolinguistic analysis of a multilingual community.*** D.Litt. et Phil. Rand Afrikaans University. Johannesburg.

KHUMALO, NHE. 1995. ***The language contact situation in Daveyton.*** MA. VISTA University. Soweto.

KOOPMAN, A. 1994. ***Linguistic adoptives in Zulu.*** D.Phil. University of Natal. Pietermaritzburg.

MADIBA, MA. 1994. ***A linguistic survey of adoptives in Venda.*** MA. UNISA. Pretoria.

MALIMABE, RM. 1990. ***The influence of non-standard varieties on the standard Setswana of high school pupils.*** MA. Rand Afrikaans University. Johannesburg.

MATHUMBA, DI. 1993. ***A comparative study of selected phonetic, phonological and lexical aspects of some major dialects of Tsonga in the Republic of South Africa, and their impact on the standard language.*** D.Litt. et Phil. UNISA. Pretoria.

NTSHANGASE, DK. 1993. ***The social history of Iscamtho.*** MA. WITS University. Johannesburg.

THIPA, HM. 1989. ***The difference between rural and urban Xhosa varieties: A sociolinguistic study.*** D.Phil. University of Natal. Pietermaritzburg.

ZUNGU, PJ. 1995. ***Language variation in Zulu: A case study of contemporary codes and registers in the greater Durban area.*** D.Litt. et Phil. University of Durban Westville. Durban.

Subreports not completed:

MASHAMAITE, KJ. ***The influence of non-standard varieties on the use of standard Northern Sotho in Lebowa schools.*** MA. University of the North. Sovenga.

MASHIYANE, ZJ. ***A sociolinguistic analysis of Southern Ndebele as spoken in the Transvaal.*** MA. University of Zululand. Kwa-Dlangezwa.

NGWENYA, AV. ***The dynamic elements of Tsotsi-Zulu with special reference to isiZulu.*** MA. UNISA. Pretoria.

RADEBE. MA. ***Colloquial Zulu in the North-Eastern Orange Free State as a dialectal variation.*** MA. University of Zululand. Kwa-Dlangezwa.

1.2 COURSE OF RESEARCH

Research plan

The research plan for the STANON programme was as follows:

1987: **Planning**
1988 - 1991: **Identify co-workers and evaluate research proposals**
1991 - 1993: **Receive and process finalised subreports**
1994 - 1995: **Finalise and publish Main Report**

The planning phase mainly entailed the conceptualisation of the programme, seeking the co-operation of ALASA and the DET, and the establishment of a Main Committee to steer the process. A launching committee was established for this purpose.

Co-ordination of the research

Over the next four years (1988-1991) a co-ordinator for the programme was appointed by the HSRC, Work Committees for the nine African languages were established, an Executive Committee (mini-Main Committee) was elected, and co-workers were recruited to conduct the research.

The functions of the *Main Committee* were:

- to determine the research themes of the programme,
- to operationalise the programme by nominating members to serve on the Work Committees and on the Executive Committee and specifying their functions,
- to co-ordinate the activities of the Work Committees,
- to evaluate research proposals as well as the final research reports,
- to furnish summaries, recommendations and progress reports to stakeholders,
- to promote the generation of funds if necessary, and
- to publicise the programme and disseminate information to stakeholders.

As the Main Committee consisted of representatives for each of the African languages, the DET, the SABC and the HSRC, it was a large Committee whose members were spread across the country. It was therefore decided to appoint an *Executive Committee* from members of the Main Committee, to represent it in a smaller form. The task of the Executive Committee was to evaluate research proposals and progress reports, approve STANON grants and manage smaller ad hoc matters which arose. At the conclusion of this project the Main and Executive

Committees stand under the chairmanship of Prof. CT Msimang (Head: Department of African languages - UNISA).

The recruitment of co-workers (researchers) became the main task of the *Work Committees* who went about it by organising workshops in their respective areas to publicise the STANON programme, promote interest in the research to be conducted and gain support for the programme. In total, 13 workshops were conducted in 11 different cities countrywide.

Many of the functions of the Main Committee, gradually became the task of the *HSRC co-ordinator*. This included *inter alia* the dissemination of information, liaison between the Work Committees, securing of nominations to the various committees, publicising of the programme, organising of workshops, recruitment of co-workers, and various administrative duties. It is also the task of the co-ordinator to compile this Main Report and disseminate the information flowing from the programme.

The names of the members serving on the various committees, appear in Appendix A.

Aid to co-workers

In order to assist researchers in conducting their projects, the HSRC made available various aids. One such aid, was *STANON research grants*. These were made available in different amounts depending on the level of the study, i.e. whether it was Masters, Doctoral, or post-Doctoral research. Applicants were required to submit a research proposal with their application form, which was then evaluated by the Work Committee for the language concerned, as well as by the Executive Committee. In total, thirteen STANON research grants were awarded to co-workers.

A second aid, came in the form of four *Annotated Bibliographies* on issues pertaining to the field of study, namely:

First edition:

Annotated Bibliography for the Research programme Standard and non-standard African language varieties. (Compiled by E. van Tonder)

Second edition:

Loanwords. (Compiled by J. Gerber)

Third edition:

Research Methodology. (Compiled by J. Gerber)

Fourth edition:

Code-switching, Diglossia, Language Maintenance and Shift. (Compiled by K. Bijzet and K. Calteaux).

These Bibliographies contained a total of 211 summaries and abstracts of literature on these issues and were found to be most useful by the co-workers. Koopman (1994:8) mentions, for instance, that the bibliography on "Loanwords" "was of inestimable value" to him.

1.3 RATIONALE

With the advent of the STANON programme, limited research had been conducted on language use in the black urban residential areas of South Africa. That which had been done, had identified various problem areas, controversies, gaps and issues of confusion which needed to be clarified.

The research which led most directly to the undertaking of the STANON programme, was that of Schuring (1985), and it was he who initiated the STANON programme on behalf of the HSRC. In his study of the language varieties used in the vicinity of Pretoria, Schuring (1985) had identified a mixed colloquial language which he called Pretoria Sotho. His research had indicated that this colloquial variety was used for communication across the borders of ethnicity, due to extensive contact between speakers of differing mother tongues in the township situation. Schuring had found indications that this colloquial variety influenced the use of the standard language in various settings, most notably in the school. Pupils seemed to experience difficulties in adhering to the use of pure standard language and often used colloquial expressions in their formal oral and written work. As this was unacceptable in the present curriculum, it contributed to a high failure rate in the mother tongue subjects.

There were also indications that the non-standard language varieties were in the process of ousting the standard languages and their recognised regional dialects, as home languages and mother tongues.

It was therefore felt that a need existed for more research on the nature of the so-called "non-standard" language varieties employed in the black urban areas of the country, and especially on the impact which those varieties were having on the use of the "standard" language. Based on this tenet, the five research themes mentioned above were finally distinguished as guidelines for the research programme.

Within the above-mentioned framework, the following issues soon became areas of concern to be dealt with in the research undertaken within the STANON programme:

1.3.1. The debate between the language purists and the *laissez-faire*

One of the main areas of concern addressed by the STANON research, regards the debate between the language purists, and the liberals (or so-called *laissez-faire,* i.e. those in favour of the recognition and incorporation of the spoken language in the written media).

In the view of the language purists, the employment of a non-standard variety of a language is "corrupt, adulterated, bastardised, and impure linguistic behaviour" (Zungu, 1995:9). In his article on "***Urban Slang in Compositions***", Swanepoel (1978:9) expresses the viewpoint of language purists well, when he writes: "this type of language must be condemned in the strongest terms".

Ngwenya's (forthcoming) attitude towards the influence of Tsotsitaal on the use of the standard language, illustrates that of many educationists towards these non-standard varieties. He states (Ntshangase, 1993:20):

> In as much as tsotsi language has its pros, it also has its cons. Firstly, it spoils the language acquisition of the urban children. The child acquires a colloquial language unawares. This has adverse effects when the children are faced with tasks and assignments where the knowledge of standard language is required. This becomes evident at school where essays and letters, language usage, and general knowledge are written [sic.]. The knowledge of pupils leaves much to be desired. Secondly, poor scholastic results can be attributed and ascribed to tsotsi language especially in standard ten. Finally, it poses a serious threat to the standard language, because time and again it interferes with it.

Ngwenya's attitude towards Tsotsitaal indicates a failure to understand the nature of language variation, and a desire to preserve the standard language (Ntshangase, *op. cit.*).

Further evidence of this attitude towards non-standard language varieties is provided by Ntshangase (1993:1) when he mentions that Iscamtho (also known to its speakers as Iringas, Itaal, Istsotsi or Isjita), a language spoken predominantly by young males in Soweto, is socially stigmatised by speakers of standard Zulu and educators and referred to as "bad Zulu". Its speakers are said to have speech defects and be in need of remedial education.

Zungu (1995:9) sums up the current attitude of language purists towards non-standard language use accurately when she writes:

> Being in an advantageous position, the influential group normally eradicates or minimises the influence of foreign elements in the mother tongue or in a standard dialect. This is primarily reflected in written literature where manuscripts are first screened by the various Language Boards and are only accepted for publication if they are written in the standard variety. Non-standard elements are either eradicated, or the whole manuscript is rejected on the grounds that it is impure because it is not 'standard'.

Or as Mathumba (1993:1) puts it:

> ... although we speak of a standard Tsonga, different varieties of Tsonga are a daily occurrence in official and educational circles ... with the increase of Tsonga authors, there is a noticeable tendency that the language and orthography which they use in their works is not altogether uniform and at times undermines some of the tenets of Tsonga as a standard language. This comes out clearly in manuscripts which are being processed for publication. The finished products, i.e. the published books, are relatively free of non-standard orthography and non-standard language usage because of the judicious editing which precedes their publication. Notwithstanding, a few errors have become noticeable due to the fact that different publishers use different people to edit their manuscripts. Some of the people who are requested to do the editing are not conversant with the standard orthography and other rules of language usage in the standard form of the Tsonga language. It therefore became clear that this problem needs to be addressed.

However, purists are often oblivious of foreign elements that have succeeded in getting into the Zulu language in the introduction of Zulu written literature. Hence, Zungu (1995:9) states that a thorough understanding of the linguistic situation in black urban areas is vital before policy-makers can make decisions about the languages of South Africa.

Furthermore, in the view of the *laissez-faire,* many pupils in different townships are unable to maintain language purity as they live in multilingual, multi-ethnic and multicultural societies where *lingua francas* acceptable to all are essential. It is inevitable that these languages would interfere with standard language usage, and they should therefore not be sidelined or ignored. Constructive ways have to be found for dealing with these varieties, especially in the classroom situation.

1.3.2. Understanding the language situation in urban areas, i.e. the nature of the variation and the functions of the language varieties

In 1951, White drew attention to the need for research in what he calls the "neglected field" of sociolinguistics. In his words

> The diverse effects of the outer world upon modern Africa in the social sphere are well known and have been much studied; but little has been written upon the effects of modern influences on African languages. (1951:66)

Owing to this lack of interest in sociolinguistics until recently, very little is known of the origin, socio-psychological functions or social attitudes of the black urban speech communities towards the non-standard language varieties (or what Zungu 1995 terms Contemporary Codes and Registers [CCR's]) spoken in the various urban areas in South Africa.

However, like many other countries in the world, South Africa is also characterised by language variation and differentiation. The encounter between these different language groups results in language contact situations in which both standard and non-standard language varieties feature.

Multi-ethnic black urban communities are common in South Africa (especially in the Gauteng area). Extensive contact between ethnically diverse groups has various repercussions, both culturally and linguistically. These communities are characterised by extensive language contact, inevitably leading to language change and the development of new, sometimes intermediate, language varieties. Inter-ethnic marriages and modernisation are two dominant processes in cosmopolitan areas that lead to language change and the development of mixed colloquial languages, which facilitate communication across ethnic boundaries.

Until the advent of the STANON programme, studies done on the language varieties in these speech communities had concentrated on specific varieties. No description had been given of the entire language situation in a black urban speech community. The studies which had been done, indicated that much language mixing and interference was taking place. Instances of language change and changes in the functions and status of language varieties had also been reported, but there seemed to be some confusion over these issues. A description of the whole

spectrum of language variation in a black urban speech community was felt to be necessary. This would form a background to and provide orientation for in-depth studies of the language varieties that occur in these communities (Calteaux, 1994:1).

1.3.3. The phenomena of language contact, interference and adoption

With regard to the influence of languages on each other, Pettman (1913:3) has stated:

> Various races, using different languages, cannot occupy the same territory and live in daily contact and intercourse without being mutually affected, each will acquire something from, and in turn give something to the others.

However, Ansre (1971:146) points out that:

> Strictly speaking, it is not quite correct to say that one language has influenced another. It is necessary to refer to the speaker or the speakers of the language concerned. Language itself is an abstraction from human social behaviour and one language cannot influence another except through the medium of a user of these two languages.

Until the advent of the STANON programme, no investigation had been undertaken to measure the direction and magnitude of linguistic change within the black urban speech communities in South Africa, with special reference to the non-standard language varieties employed by members of these speech communities.

The first STANON study (Thipa, 1989) investigated the difference between rural and urban language varieties, giving attention to how the rural languages adapt to new situations and experiences through, *inter alia*, lexical borrowing, coinages and neologisms. The effects of migration and urbanisation on the rural languages also became apparent in this study.

However, language changes take place on a number of levels: phonological, morphological, semantic, and syntactic. These changes are the result of a number of varied factors: the proximity, influence and prestige of other languages; social, political and economic changes; the influence of education and literacy; technological advances; cultural changes; the influence of the media, both written and electronic; the influence of the church: early missionary societies, the preaching of Christianity and the translation of the Bible and other religious texts; colonial government - the list is virtually endless (Koopman, 1994:1).

In order to describe the phenomena associated with language contact and language change, sound theoretical frameworks had to be established in each of the subreports. The phenomena under investigation in each subreport had to be researched and defined in order to apply to the particular situation under investigation. In this sense, the STANON programme has also succeeded in making a contribution to the theoretical debate regarding various sociolinguistic and linguistic concepts, in that it has shown how these apply to the South African situation.

1.3.4. The implications of the language variation in urban areas for education

One of the main areas in which the STANON programme hopes to make a contribution, is Education. Research such as that of Malimabe (1990), has clearly indicated that the township languages have far-reaching implications for the teaching of the first language subjects, and for teacher training. The place of these non-standard forms in the classroom situation, which is still being debated, is an issue of concern to many first language teachers. Apart from the need for clarity regarding the nature, status and functions of these language varieties, it has become probable that new curricula will have to take cognisance of these varieties and make provision for them in future. Ways of accomplishing this therefore have to be found.

In addition to this, there are indications that the colloquial languages are impacting on the use of the standard language in various spheres, *inter alia* in the classroom. This impact seems also to have spread to other domains of use, for example to formal meetings and the media. There are also strong indications that the colloquial languages are ousting the standard languages as home languages, especially in the case of inter-ethnic marriages. Within the STANON research, this situation has been subjected to systematic description and more insight has been gained into the problems raised by it.

There can be little doubt that insight into the influence (interference) which the non-standard language varieties have on the use of the standardised language, can be of value for the teaching (not to mention the learning and development) of the African languages. The non-standard language varieties used daily by millions of pupils, are in some instances dialects of a particular language, or in the case of urban areas, often mixtures of different African languages as well as English and Afrikaans. There is ample evidence that these varieties are causing problems in the classroom situation.

Thipa (1989:50,51) for instance states that

> The presence of Xhosa speakers in urban areas is a reality. That in some cases they tend to speak a language that is different from the normally accepted one, is also a reality. These are some of the realities which have to be reckoned with in syllabus planning, in devising terminology and in examinations.

The failure of the black education system is starkly reflected in the matric results of the last few years. In 1992 43,8 percent of the black standard 10 candidates passed the examination. Corresponding figures for 1991, 1990, 1989 and 1988 are respectively 40,9; 6,7 [sic]; 41,8; and 56,7 percent (Van Zyl Slabbert *et al.*, 1994:109). In the Department of Education and Training there has been a decline in the pass rate since 1979 - by way of comparison - in 1976, 87 percent of the candidates passed the standard 10 examination.

Factors cited by Van Zyl Slabbert *et al.* (1994:107) as contributing to the poor examination results include rapid growth in pupil enrolment which overtaxed resources, the undisciplined and educationally unjustifiable promotion of pupils at lower levels, the collapse of the learning and teaching cultures, *medium of ...struction,* and problems related to teachers.

Many of these problems will be touched on in this report. For instance, problems caused by language variation in the township situation concern the so-called "mother tongue" and the

medium of instruction, namely the standardised language. In 1981 the HSRC's Investigation into Education stated in a report entitled "Provision of Education in the RSA" (the so-called De Lange report), that pupils learn best when they are taught in the language with which they are most familiar and that in most cases this would be their mother tongue (HSRC, 1981:142,143).

In 1991, the South African Law Commission submitted an "Interim Report on Group and Human rights", in which they state that "every pupil is entitled, in so far as this is attainable, to be taught all school subjects through the medium of his or her mother tongue or some other language of choice from the first to the last school year" (SALC, 1991:693).

In the South African school context, "mother tongue" refers to the standard variety of Afrikaans, English, Zulu, Xhosa, Swazi, Southern Ndebele, Northern Sotho, Southern Sotho, Tswana, Venda and Tsonga. However, because of the increasing use of non-standard language varieties (especially in the urban areas), and the diminishing role of the traditional standard languages, it is no longer a simple matter to determine the "mother tongue" of a pupil.

In the light of the above, the value of the STANON programme to education can be summarised as follows:

- The STANON programme will contribute towards the formulation of a language education policy, by clarifying the problems related to the principle of "mother tongue instruction". In multilingual areas, where it can at times be difficult to provide separate schools for each language group, the children's knowledge of the common black urban vernacular (BUV) could play a role in the choice of a medium of instruction. Furthermore, due to the language situation in the home as described above, concepts such as "mother tongue" and "home language" have to be subjected to careful scrutiny, certain restrictions, and in some cases redefinition, before being incorporated into the South African language education policy.

- The STANON programme will also make a contribution towards curriculum development, by:

  * providing a detailed description of the nature of the language problem in education which is contributing to poor performances in the African languages as school subjects. This problem is largely due to misconceptions found in the African language textbooks due to the differences between the well-known BUV and the not-so-well-known standard language. In order to cope better with these problems in, for instance, the syllabuses of the African languages, a detailed description of the grammatical, lexical and functional differences between the non-standard varieties and the standard language, is required. This will be of value to mother tongue speakers as well as L2 and L3 learners,
  * providing guidelines for the selection of languages (L1, L2 and L3),
  * providing guidelines for the contents of syllabuses or courses, also at university level, for example references to standard and non-standard varieties and pertinent sociolinguistic issues,
  * making recommendations regarding teacher training courses for all language teachers as well as junior primary school teachers. Teachers need to be made aware of the

importance and role of non-standard language varieties. New approaches to language teaching might be needed, e.g. standard language as basis vs. standard language as ideal (cf. also HSRC, 1981:150),

* contributing to education technology, e.g. the planning, preparation, evaluation and selection of textbooks, and other media in education such as radio, video, television (HSRC, 1981:149), and
* contributing to evaluation practice. (HSRC, 1981:151,152).

- STANON can also make a contribution in the field of literacy training by providing data on the differences between the standard language and the BUV or other non-standard varieties (HSRC, 1981:153).

1.3.5. The implications of this research for language planning

During the course of the STANON programme, it became increasingly apparent that the research being conducted would also be invaluable in the area of language planning, due to the researchers' attempts at clarifying basic problems regarding the phenomena of *Language Variation.* There are two very important aspects to National Language Policies. These comprise the ideological aspect which is concerned with mobilising the nation's sentiments and attitudes towards the acceptance and use of selected speech forms. The second aspect involves the technical side, which looks at the practical elements which are concerned with the problems of implementing the ideology (Whiteley, 1967:150). Attention is given to language planning in Chapter 9.

1.3.6. The STANON programme's contribution to the RDP and the White Paper on Education

Two key concepts in the White Paper on Education (1994) describe the areas in which the STANON programme can make a meaningful contribution, namely:

> ...empowerment of the people, through appropriate education and training, (to participate effectively in all the processes of democratic society, economic activity, cultural expression, and community life). (1994:10)

AND

> ...education and training are **basic human rights.** The state has an obligation to protect and advance these rights, so that all citizens have the opportunity to develop their capacities and potential, and make their full contribution to society. (1994:11)

The contributions which the STANON programme can make in these areas, are discussed in Chapter 10.

1.4 BRIEF OVERVIEW OF SOUTH AFRICAN RESEARCH ON LANGUAGE CONTACT PHENOMENA

With the advent of the STANON programme, the research which had been conducted in the field of sociolinguistics and specifically on language contact phenomena, had mainly concentrated on individual non-standard language varieties, such as Pretoria Sotho, Slang, Tsotsitaal and Iscamtho. Research such as that of Schuring (1985), which pre-empted the STANON programme, had focused on proving that Pretoria Sotho is a *lingua franca* and a koiné, and did not pay much attention to the influence of the non-standard languages on the use of the standard language.

Likewise, the studies which had been done on Tsotsitaal (Msimang, 1987; Mfenyane, 1977, 1981; Makhudu, 1981; Khumalo, 1986) mainly concentrated on describing the origin and semantic significance of lexical items in the variety, with little or no reference to the impact of this variety on the use of the standard language. Many of the earlier studies on Tsotsitaal also indicate a certain amount of confusion surrounding the difference between Tsotsitaal and another non-standard variety named Iscamtho. The study of these varieties by Mfenyane (1977), for instance, lacks an understanding of what these varieties symbolise and treats them as the same variety with two different names. Furthermore, many of these earlier studies on Tsotsitaal and Iscamtho, fail to go beyond the stigma attached to both varieties. These studies see Tsotsitaal and Iscamtho as the languages of young urban criminals (tsotsi's).

Later studies, such as the STANON subreports by Ntshangase (1993) and Calteaux (1994) attempt to clarify some of these misunderstandings regarding Tsotsitaal and Iscamtho. The subreport by Ntshangase, for instance, shows that urban language varieties need to be understood within the context of the social dislocation and social transformation of the South African black communities. It also propagates that an understanding of these varieties implies a need for a change in the attitudes of language authorities, i.e. the language boards and other official organisations, who have in the past been of the opinion that the speakers of these varieties must change their language use. Rather, these non-standard varieties must be accepted as having a rightful role to play in the communities in which they are used.

Another non-standard variety which had received some attention before the advent of the STANON programme is Slang. A preliminary study on Zulu slang is cited in Ndlovu's (1963) MA dissertation entitled ***A short study of slang in Zulu***. Ndlovu's study concentrates on the classificatory aspect of Zulu slang words. It also hints at the role slang plays in the development of the language. Ndlovu was one of the first linguists to analyse language change in Zulu, and his work, although valuable, is thus quite rudimentary (Zungu, 1995:8). Mfusi's (1990) study of Soweto Zulu slang, on the other hand, provides a more coherent description of a slang in that it attempts to define the origin, use and functions of this variety, provides an analysis of data on greeting routines in social interactions, and also deals with attitudes towards this variety.

Apart from these studies on individual non-standard varieties, much of the earlier research on language contact phenomena, concentrated on the borrowing of foreign words into the lexicons of particular African languages. In 1968, Nkabinde addressed the question of the adaptation of foreign words into Zulu, and considered aspects of lexical borrowing.

More recently, Cele's (1990) study entitled ***A Comparison of Slang Code and IsiZulu in the Pietermaritzburg Area***, demonstrated the development of borrowing and neologism in Zulu. Mzamane's work on the dialects of Southern Nguni, focused on the lexical influence of non-Sintu languages, while Cole's 1990 "Old Tswana and New Latin", examines the role of Tswana in the scientific nomenclature of South Africa, with emphasis on how Tswana source words have been adopted into the scientific names of plants, birds, insects and animals. Lastly, a study by Louwrens (1993) which focuses on semantic changes in loan words, investigates different types of semantic changes and the various underlying reasons for semantic change.

With these examples of some of the sociolinguistic work which has been done in the African languages until now, we hope to have given a short overview of the field of study in which the STANON research will be making a contribution.

1.5 AIMS OF THE SUBREPORTS

Although the primary brief given to the co-workers was to describe the influence which non-standard language varieties have on the use of the standard language, their investigations concentrated on various manifestations of this influence. The main aims of their investigations may be summarised as follows:

- To study language contact situations (particularly in urban areas) and attempt to describe these situations in terms of the language varieties (and categories of varieties) which occur (and are emerging), the functions and status of certain varieties, and the sociolinguistic characteristics of some *(Calteaux, Khumalo, Zungu)*. In certain instances *(Calteaux)*, the domains of use, as well as the origin and development of non-standard varieties were studied, and attitudes towards these varieties were gauged. One study in particular, aimed to prove that the Black Urban Vernacular can serve as a source from which to draw in order to improve the social and economic life of all South Africans *(Calteaux)*. The differences between rural and urban varieties of language were also studied, as well as the influence which migration has on the language use of people originating from different geographical areas *(Thipa)*. In one instance the aim was to propose a model which could be used for describing multilingual communities *(Calteaux)*.

- To study language change as a result of the influence of one language on another and try to describe the types of changes which take place in the African languages, and what influences these *(Koopman, Madiba, Mathumba, Thipa)*. This led primarily to the study of linguistic changes with in-depth investigation into the adaptation of foreign linguistic forms into a language. The adaptation of these foreign forms were discussed at the phonological, morphological, semantic and syntactic levels. In certain cases, differences between dialects were highlighted with regard to specific grammatical phenomena. In most cases, lexical differences between varieties received the most attention. In one instance *(Koopman)*, a dictionary was subjected to close scrutiny in order to investigate its role in recording and reflecting these changes, and also in order to provide some understanding of the movements of change which have taken, and continue taking place in a language.

- To study specific non-standard varieties concerning which there has been some confusion in the past, and in one instance to describe an emerging non-standard language variety which has not been researched before *(Calteaux, Khumalo, Ntshangase, Zungu)*.

- To determine the reasons for and degree in which non-standard language use interferes with standard language use in various spheres *(Calteaux, Khumalo)*. Several studies also aimed to provide input into language planning and language policy, and to make recommendations regarding the standardisation of the standard African languages *(Khumalo, Malimabe, Mathumba, Thipa, Zungu)*. Whilst some of the research *(Malimabe)* aimed to identify ways in which non-standard language use can be eliminated (especially in the teaching of the standard language), one study *(Zungu)* specifically aimed to contribute towards the unification and harmonisation of non-standard varieties of a language, in order to move away from the purist view of standard languages. A comparison of the findings of these studies should provide a holistic perspective on the issue of whether to eliminate or accommodate non-standard varieties.

1.6 DATA COLLECTION

Various data collection methods were employed by the co-workers. These may be presented in terms of methods used for collecting **primary** data and those used for collecting **secondary** data.

The most frequently used method for obtaining the **primary data** for the subreports, was **individual interviews** (four of the nine researchers made use of this method). Only one study employed group interviews to collect its primary data. Thereafter, two researchers respectively employed (a) the analysis of **written materials** including newspapers, magazines, literature on theoretical issues, historical documents and various other published sources; (b) **participant observation** (in terms of informal observations and conversations with respondents as a "friend-of-a-friend" or as an "insider"); and (c) **recordings of speech**, as methods for collecting the primary data for their studies. One researcher analysed essays written by secondary school pupils, and a specific study, analysed a dictionary as a source of data on adoption.

In all cases, the primary data was supplemented by **secondary data** taken from various sources, *inter alia*, written materials (research reports, theses, papers, articles, dictionaries, published and unpublished sources, literature books, grammars, handbooks of terminology and orthography, newspapers); questionnaires; informal conversations; participant observation, and individual interviews (mainly with experts). In one instance, checklists were used in addition to participant observation, individual interviews and questionnaires in order to do "[F]urther and final checking of the validity and reliability of the data" (Zungu, 1995:65).

In two cases, researchers relied on self-reporting and personal experience in order to confirm findings in their primary data. In one instance this was backed up by recording samples of respondents' speech in order to enhance the validity and reliability of the researcher's subjectivity. In the second case, it was felt that although this approach may have led to a loss

in objectivity, the value of the "insider's" perspective which the researcher had as part of the community under investigation, outweighed any such loss.

Only two studies reported that a pilot study was first conducted in order to test out and adapt the research design, before the main study was conducted during which the primary corpus of data was collected (see Calteaux, 1994:4,86-101; Zungu, 1995:80).

It is interesting to note that questionnaires were not used at all in collecting primary data in any of the studies, but rather as a means for gaining clarity on certain issues, or in one instance as part of the matched guise technique.

A further point of interest is that some researchers employed certain methods (e.g. individual interviews, and the use of written materials) as a means for obtaining their primary data, whilst others employed such methods to validate and enhance the findings from their primary data collection method (i.e. as methods to obtain secondary data). Data collection methods can thus be employed in various ways depending on the particular aim in mind.

The above is only an overview of the data collection methods employed in the various subreports. For more in-depth discussions of the research methodologies, and the data collection and analysis processes followed, the reader is referred to the individual subreports.

1.7 POTENTIALLY OFFENSIVE TERMS AND TERMINOLOGY

Regretfully, derogative terms such as "Kaffir" and "Native" appear in the work of some writers quoted in this report. The editor has included "[sic]" where these offensive terms appear in the report to distance it from such derogation.

There has also been an ongoing debate regarding the use of terminology to refer to the *languages* used by black South Africans. Koopman prefers the term "Sintu" language(s) in his subreport, although most of the other co-workers use the term "African" language(s). Currently, there is a tendency to revert to the use of the term "Bantu" language(s), as this best delimits the languages to which reference is being made (i.e. African languages could refer to all languages spoken on the African continent). The approach followed in this report is to mainly use the term "African" language(s), as this is the term used in most of the subreports, although the term "Bantu" languages is at times used for the sake of clarity.

1.8 CONTENTS OF THIS REPORT

This Main Report provides an overview of the research reported on in the subreports submitted by the co-workers. The content is as follows:

Chapter 2 provides a brief overview of the theoretical issues pertaining to the field of study covered by this research. This serves as orientation for the body of the report.

Chapter 3 contains an exposition of the language use patterns in black urban speech communities. The various language varieties which occur are described and their domains of

use are indicated. Sociolinguistic profiles of the varieties occurring in a particular township are provided for the sake of comparison.

Chapter 4 discusses the phonological changes which take place when foreign words are adopted into the lexicons of the African languages. Phonological changes due to contact with European languages, as well as contact with other African languages are discussed.

Chapter 5 investigates the morphological changes to African languages due to contact with foreign languages.

Chapter 6 looks at syntactic changes in the African languages due to such contact.

Chapter 7 illustrates various aspects of semantic changes in the African languages due to contact with European languages.

Chapter 8 contains an exposition of the language situation in schools, indicating the main issues at hand and providing examples of "mistakes" made by pupils due to the influence of other languages on their use of the standard language.

Chapter 9 looks at the implications of this research for language planning.

Chapter 10 assesses the implications of the research in terms of education and makes several suggestions for enhancing achievement in the African language subjects.

Chapter 11 concludes the report by highlighting salient points made in the text, indicating the contributions made by the research, and providing recommendations based on the findings.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides a theoretical foundation for this report. Included are a number of definitions of relevant concepts with short discussions where necessary. The aim is to clarify relevant theoretical aspects, not to provide in-depth discussions of such issues. Not all theoretically relevant material is mentioned here. The selection is based on issues which lie central to the research conducted for this report and which were felt warranted specific mention. For the rest, the reader is referred to the various subreports for detailed theoretical discussions of the issues at hand.

2.2 SOCIOLINGUISTICS

The research conducted for the STANON programme, largely took place within the discipline of sociolinguistics. One of the main factors which led to the growth of sociolinguistic research, was a recognition of the importance of the fact that language is a highly variable phenomenon and that this variability may have as much to do with society as with language (Calteaux, 1994:14). There are a number of ways in which language and society are interrelated. In the past 20 years or so, increasing recognition of the importance of this relationship has led to the growth of **sociolinguistics** as "the study of the characteristics of linguistic varieties, characteristics of their functions and characteristics of their speakers, considering the fact that these factors of characterisation interact, change and mutually modify themselves within a linguistic community" (Ammon, 1987:19; cf. also Calteaux, 1994:14,15).

The relationship between language and society lies at the core of this report.

2.3 MULTILINGUALISM

Multilingualism is a world-wide phenomenon. In many parts of the world it is a normal daily requirement that one be able to communicate in more than one language - perhaps one or more at home, another in town or at work, perhaps another for the purposes of trade, and yet another for contact with the outside world of wider social and political organisation. In communities where multilingualism is a normal phenomenon and not unusual in any way, the various languages are acquired naturally and unselfconsciously and shifts from one language to another are made without hesitation (Wardhaugh, 1986:94).

In Africa, multilingualism is characteristic of the entire continent. In comparison with the range of multilingualism in Europe, it is estimated that in Africa there are on average less than 200 000 speakers per language as against Europe's 8,3 million speakers per language (PSALB, 1995:15).

The concept of "multilingualism" is central to the discussion of the language situation in black urban speech communities presented in Chapter 3. These communities are characterised by the occurrence of various linguistic varieties within their confines. Speakers choose from their

linguistic repertoires, i.e. all the languages and varieties which they command (see 2.11.4), that variety which is most appropriate to the particular situation in which they find themselves. There is no reason that this phenomenon should be unusual in any way. In fact, Van Wyk (1978:29) states that multilingualism is a reality which no South African can escape. Monolingualism is rare in South Africa and is confined mostly to underdeveloped areas with homogeneous communities. The impact which this linguistic situation has on education, administration, official policy, politics, indeed on every aspect of day-to-day life, is felt by everyone.

Mackey (1968:555) indicates that the meaning of the concept "bilingualism" has become broader and broader since the beginning of the century. "It was long regarded as the equal mastery of two languages ... Bloomfield considered bilingualism as 'the native-like control of two languages'. This was broadened by Haugen to the ability to produce 'complete meaningful utterances in the other language'. And it has now been suggested that the concept be further extended to include simply 'passive-knowledge' of the written language or any 'contact with possible models in a second language and the ability to use these in the environment of the native language' ... due to the realization that the point at which a speaker of a second language becomes bilingual is either arbitrary or impossible to determine."

Mackey therefore defines bilingualism as "the alternative use of two or more languages or language varieties by the same individual".

Various issues pertain to the use of more than one code by the same speaker, for instance: Does "code" refer to "language" only or can it also refer to "dialect"? Other important issues distinguished by Mackey (*op. cit.*) are as follows: "Since bilingualism is a relative concept, it involves the question of DEGREE. How well does the individual know the language he uses? Second, it involves the question of FUNCTION. What does he use his languages for? Third, it includes the question of ALTERNATION. To what extent does he alternate between his languages? Fourth, it includes the question of INTERFERENCE. How well does the bilingual keep his languages apart? To what extent does he fuse them?"

For further discussion of these issues, refer to the subreport of Calteaux (1994:20-23).

2.4 MULTILINGUALISM IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT

That South Africa as a whole is a multilingual society, is evident from the fact that four language groups (± 25-30 languages) can be distinguished within its borders, namely the European languages, the Indian languages, the Khoisan languages and the African languages. Some of these language groups include more than one language family, and apart from all the home languages, a few mixed languages can also be identified. Evidence of this diversity of language is found in the census data of 1991 which clearly indicate that South Africa is indeed a very multilingual society.

Schuring (1993) calculated the statistics for the total South African population by combining the 1991 census data for the Republic of South Africa, with projections for the TBVC states based on statistics drawn from various sources. Based on this, he indicates (1993:11) that in 1991 English was the home language of 9,01% of the total South African population,

Afrikaans that of 15,03%, and the African languages combined that of 74,64%. The other 1,32% of the population spoke European languages such as Portuguese, German, Greek, Italian, Dutch, French; Asian languages such as Gujarati, Hindi, Tamil, Urdu, Telugu, Chinese; and any other home language. (The latter could include languages such as Spanish, Polish, Czech, Hebrew, Arabic, Japanese, Bemba, Chichewa, Herero, Shona, Wambo and !Kung.)

Schuring's (1995:6) statistics on home language in the African languages, reveal that in 1991, 21,96% of the total South African population spoke Zulu as home language; 17,03% Xhosa; 9,64% Northern Sotho; 8,59% Tswana; 6,73% Southern Sotho; 4,35% Tsonga; 2,57% Swati; 2,22% Venda; and 1,55% Ndebele. (Note that these statistics are only intended as an indication of trends in language use, given the controversial nature of the 1991 census survey as well as that of statistics on language use in general.)

In terms of Section 3(1) of the new Constitution (Act 200 of 1993), official status was given to 11 of the languages mentioned above, namely Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, Sesotho sa Leboa, Sesotho, siSwati, XiTsonga, Setswana, Tshivenda, isiXhosa, and isiZulu. The Constitution states that these "shall be the official South African languages at national level and conditions shall be created for their development and for the protection of their equal use and enjoyment".

However, it is known that certain geographical areas feature a conglomeration of various languages providing a fertile breeding ground for language contact phenomena. The Gauteng Province (especially areas such as Johannesburg, Randburg, Alberton, Kempton Park, and Benoni), with as many as six languages having more than 500 000 speakers each being spoken there, is a good example of such a multilingual area (PSALB, 1995:7).

In fact, Van Wyk (1978:29) notes that in the "traditional areas: contact normally takes place between the languages spoken there and the official languages [in 1978 only English and Afrikaans enjoyed official status] as well as with the languages of adjoining areas." The contact pattern in these areas is therefore relatively simple and clear-cut. In urban areas, this "traditional" pattern is upset and the contact situation becomes progressively more fluid and complex as population density and industrialisation increases. The most complex situation according to Van Wyk, occurs in Johannesburg, which is the largest city in South Africa and also the most industrialised. A unique pattern emerges here, where representatives of all the linguistic communities in the country are drawn together. This is perhaps the only place in South Africa where all the indigenous languages are spoken and where these come into contact with a variety of foreign and Indian languages.

2.5 LANGUAGE CONTACT AND MIXING

According to Lehiste (1988:1) "**two or more languages can be said to be in contact when they are used alternately by the same persons**". Obviously, when speakers of different languages meet, they would have to arrive at some degree of comprehension of the other language and a certain measure of competence in producing comprehensible utterances in the other language would have to be obtained, in order for communication to take place. In time, some speakers will be able to alternate between languages, i.e. they will have become

bilingual. The same norms apply to **multilingualism**, the practice of using alternately two or more languages (Calteaux, 1994:17). These phenomena of language contact are also central to this report.

The following quote provided by Koopman (1994:15) illustrates how contact between Xhosa and English has influenced the English language. This quote "tells the story of a trooper of the Frontier Armed and Mounted Police (FMAP) who is hunting 'Bushmen' horse thieves with a 'Xosa' tracker. The date of the event is not clear, but a reference in the beginning of the story suggests a date sometime in the mid 1880s. The tracker has just found some footprints":

> ... and you'll have to be plenty quick', sez he. 'You'll have to kauleza kakulu', sez he, just like that in Xosa, 'if you want to get back them horses', sez he. 'Bushmen he banya skellem', sez he, 'Bulala plenty bullock', sez he, 'but you'll catch 'em', sez he. 'He eat him banya nyama bymby', sez he, 'then he go lala and then you bamba', sez he, just like that in Xosa.

Koopman indicates that this extract has a number of interesting points, for example:

(a) although the author twice refers to the Xhosa tracker as talking "(just like that) in Xosa", the tracker is in fact speaking English and codeswitching to Xhosa at intervals; and
(b) at least two of the supposedly Xhosa words are adoptives: "skellem" < Afr. *skelm* 'rogue' and "banya" < Afr. *baie* 'greatly', itself an adoptive from a Malay language.

This quote indicates that language contact can have various results. One such a result is codeswitching (see discussion 6.7). Another result is **borrowing** or **adoption.** Manifestations of adoption form the main corpus of data for this report. Therefore, a discussion of this phenomenon is in order here.

2.6 "BORROWING" / ADOPTION

Scholars have in the past used different terminology to refer to this process whereby "foreign words" become part of the lexicon of a language. The different approaches are discussed in detail by Koopman (1994:40-47) and will not be repeated here. Suffice to say that the terms "loan words", "borrowings", and "adoptives" are used interchangeably by different scholars (and sometimes by the same scholar), and the stance taken here is to employ the term "adoptive". The reason for taking this stance, is that the loaned items are rarely returned to the donor language questioning the validity of referring to such items as "borrowings" or "loan words".

Mathumba (1993:176,177) provides the following definition of adoption from Thomason & Kaufman:

> the incorporation of foreign features into a group native language by speakers of that language.

Gumperz (Ntshangase, 1993:87) defines adoption as:

> the introduction of single words or short frozen phrases from one variety (i.e. language) into the other. The items in question are incorporated into the grammatical system of the borrowing language. They are treated as part of its lexicon, take its morphological characteristics and enter into its syntactic structures.

According to Mathumba (1993:177), two forms of "borrowing" may be distinguished, *viz.* cultural "borrowing", and intimate "borrowing".

2.6.1 Cultural "borrowing"

Cultural "borrowing" refers to the adoption of features from a different language and usually involves the introduction of new elements of culture into the adopting language. In this sense, Tsonga has adopted various Afrikaans and English words into its vocabulary, e.g.

tafula	<	Afr. *tafel*	'table'
phepha	<	'paper'	
butu	<	'boot'	

2.6.2 Intimate "borrowing"

Intimate "borrowing" on the other hand, refers to adoption between languages spoken in the same geographical area, by a single speech community. In this instance, adoption extends beyond the introduction of new elements of culture into the adopting language. Mathumba (1993:178) indicates that many words have been adopted into Tsonga from Venda, Swazi, Northern Sotho and Zulu, through intimate "borrowing", e.g.

xidulu	<	Z.	isiduli	'ant-hill'
ndhlela	<	Sw.	indlelo	'snuff-box'
-khanya	<	NSo.	-kganya	'brag'
-gonya	<	Ve.	-gonya	'ascend'

Possibly the most detailed analysis of the nature of "loanwords" is that of Whiteley (1967). Koopman (1994:44-46) discusses Whiteley's division of "loanwords" into various categories, in detail. Although not used as the point of departure in this report (or in any of the subreports), Whiteley's complex analysis may be useful for a future in-depth study of modern language use, including both oral and written forms, as well as for the study of "non-standard" varieties such as "slang", Tsotsitaal or Iscamtho, and language marked by extensive codeswitching (such as the language use of university students or the Black Urban Vernacular [see 3.4.5]) (Koopman, 1994:46).

2.6.3 Reasons for lexical adoption (vocabulary gain)

The primary reason for a language adopting words from other languages, is perhaps that contact with another language implies contact with a different culture, bringing with it new concepts, new activities, new materials, etc. (Koopman, 1994:21). Mathumba (1993:179) points out, however, that mere contact between two languages does not necessarily lead to adoption. Certain conditions must be met before adoption can occur, *viz.* (a) the speaker of the adopting language must understand the utterance in the source language, and (b) he/she must have a motive for adopting the particular source item.

Two main motives for lexical adoption have been distinguished (Madiba, 1994:87; Mathumba, 1993:180), namely the **need-filling motive** and the **prestige motive**.

2.6.3.1 The need-filling motive

Languages adopt words from other languages in order to fill communication gaps which are created mainly through acculturation and technological advancement due to language contact. All languages, at some stage or another, have a need for new words and no language can claim to be completely self-sufficient (Madiba, 1994:87). Lestrade (Madiba, 1994:88) explains this need of the African languages to adopt new words as follows:

> The indigenous forms of speech, rich as they are in vocabulary, flexible as they may be in the expression of ideas, admitting as many shades of accuracy and delicate nuances of meaning, could not in their unaltered state, serve as an instrument of expression when it came to designating all the new things, all the new ideas, all the new content of the white man's civilization. Progressively as the Bantu came into contact with this civilization, there arose the need for new words to name the new things, new forms of expression, to convey new ideas, a new speech habit, as it were, to meet the needs of the new environment in which they found themselves.

Madiba indicates that this is certainly true of Venda which has adopted many more words from the European languages than from the other African languages.

An example of lexical adoption for the reason of filling a need or a gap in the adopting language, is the adoption of colour terms from English in, for instance, Venda (Madiba, 1994:251). Colour terms such as Ve. **meruni** 'maroon', and **pinki** 'pink' are often employed because of their specialised meaning as Venda has no terms which distinguish between different shades of, for instance, red.

2.6.3.2 The prestige motive

While it is true that some words are adopted to fill communicative needs in a language, others are adopted for prestige, i.e. due to the status of the source language. The prestige of a language is usually determined by factors outside the realm of language, for example social and political factors play a role. Languages seldom meet on completely equal terms, with the result that one language usually dominates over another. Such dominance takes on two forms, namely social and linguistic dominance. Linguistic dominance refers to situations where the

speakers of the adopting language are in the majority and have a greater proficiency in the adopting language than the speakers of the source language. Social dominance, on the other hand, refers to language dominance due to the social status which is accorded to the language (and not because it has more speakers). In addition, people tend to emulate those whom they admire and often want to be identified with the speakers of a particular language in order to be accorded the same status and treatment as the native speakers of that language enjoy (Mathumba, 1993:180).

The social dominance and higher status of English and Afrikaans in South Africa, are strong motivating factors for the adoption of words from these languages into the African languages. Due to the prestige of these languages, words which are not always "needed" in the African languages, are nevertheless adopted in an attempt to identify with the higher status which these languages embody.

Certain instances of adoption from the European languages, are a combination of the two motives discussed above, i.e. the speaker may use an adoptive because he/she needs to, but at the same time derive prestige out of doing so.

Madiba (1994:90) indicates, however, that adoptives from other African languages are seldom motivated by prestige, but rather occur due to a need to express a certain shade of meaning. Furthermore, some words from these languages, although fulfilling certain functions in Venda, are often rejected due to the fact that their source languages are not prestigious.

2.6.3.3 Other factors

Other factors can also be cited as reasons for adopting lexical items into a language, for instance: *easier reference* to certain concepts. Madiba (1994:253) indicates that adopted words are often used in Venda for number terms, even though Venda has its own number system. Many of these adoptives refer to money terms, e.g.

thwendi-faifi cf. **mahumi mavhili na ṱhanu**
'twenty five'
naini-handirede-fifithi-thauseni cf. **zwigidi zwa maḓana maṱanu na maṋa na mahumi maṱanu**
'nine hundred and fifty thousand'

2.6.4 Vocabulary loss

Koopman (1994:22) states that one possible explanation for vocabulary loss, is that if the new thing which prompted the adoption disappears, there is no longer a need for a word for it. This certainly does hold true for certain activities such as transport-riding with ox-wagons which are no longer practised, with the result that certain terms which go with this activity, such as wagon parts, are no longer used today. In some cases such words may take on a new meaning, such as **ifolosi** 'front-ox' and **itilosi** 'after-ox', which have new relevance on the football field, referring to a front-line player and back-line defender respectively. However, this explanation definitely does not account for every case of vocabulary loss.

A second category of "lost adoptives" is those which are given adoptive status in earlier works, but not marked as such in subsequent lexicons. Such words are thus *early* adoptives which are no longer perceived as adoptives by today's speakers, or words perceived as original Zulu words by later lexicographers who do not agree with the adoptive status given to these words by their predecessors (Koopman, 1994:25). Further discussion of this issue and examples may be found in the subreport by Koopman.

An important point made by Koopman (1994:26,27) concerns the fact that the adoption of words into a language and their subsequent permanence or loss is only one part of a chain of adoptions. He explains that the movement of words from English and Afrikaans into Zulu, is only one part of a process of movement spanning centuries and involving several languages. The term "travel-word" has been coined by Knappert (Koopman, *op. cit.*) to refer to a word which travels from language to language over a period of time. For instance, most of what we call Afrikaans today, was known as "Dutch" less than a century ago in this country. However, "not only must we look backwards at the original sources of the English and Afrikaans words which have passed into Zulu, we must also look forwards: have any 'foreign words' in Zulu subsequently been adopted into other languages...". Evidence that this has occurred, does in fact exist, for example in the Shona adoptives **fasitera** 'window' and **hanzi** 'goose' which Knappert (Koopman, *op. cit.*) indicates came via Zulu. Koopman indicates, however, that Zulu is but one link in the etymological chain along which these words have travelled from their respective Greek and Sanskrit origins. (Note that Koopman includes an Appendix in his subreport, in which he discusses the etymologies of twenty selected adoptives, showing how items in Zulu have originated in languages as far apart as Nahuatl and Sanskrit.)

It is important to see "adoption" as a process, for it also displays a continuum, ranging from completely unassimilated adoptives on the one hand, to integration (total assimilation) of adopted items into the adopting language on the other. This assimilation of adoptives into the African languages, forms the body of much of this report, and no further discussion of this aspect will therefore be presented here.

Adoption is a phenomenon which sheds light on the internal organisation of language and thus may also contribute to a better understanding of the relations between language and society.

2.6.5 The role of "culture"

The *process of adoption* and the *relation between language and society* referred to above, imply that adoption is not an isolated phenomenon, but forms part of the cultural domain(s) of the adopting (and source) language. The importance of culture is stressed by the ACTAG report (1995:7) which states that an equitable arts policy "must be informed by an understanding that society is a cultural construct. Culture is integral to social life. It lies at the heart of the family and all spheres of community and social life. It inhabits the individual's psychological disposition, attitudes and tastes. In this sense, all the forms of cultural life are not merely additions to a more primary material or basic social life driven by the need for survival. Culture is that without which society is impossible. Decultured social life would in the light of this, be meaningless activity and boundless energy."

The impact of adoption on the culture of the adopting language, therefore has important implications for the development of the African languages, especially in terms of language planning and education. The ACTAG report (1995:12) realises this fact when it emphasises that the implementation of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) must be based on the understanding that development is rooted in culture.

A proper understanding and appreciation of lexical adoption (in terms of the individual lexical item - see Chapters 4-7) therefore requires a consideration of the attendant social and cultural factors as well (see Chapter 3). (Cf. also Thipa, 1989:98-106 for such an exposition of several examples of Xhosa adoptives.)

2.7 LANGUAGE CHANGE

Language change is a universal phenomenon and may take place from within the language through internal innovation, or from outside, as the result of adoption and interference.

Languages do not exist independently from their speakers, and internal innovation emanating from one individual may eventually reach the entire speech community through cultural "borrowing". If accepted by the entire group, language change results.

External innovation, on the other hand, as represented by adoption and interference, is the result of contact between two communities who speak different languages. Due to such contact, linguistic material from one or both of the languages filters through to the other. The language from which the adoption takes place, is called the **source** language, and the language adopting the item is called the **adopting** (target, receptor) language. Language changes may manifest in structural features such as phonological, phonetic and syntactic changes. This mainly occurs when there has been long-term contact between the two languages, and may be instigated by cultural pressure from the source language speakers on the speakers of the adopting language. In an adopting situation, words (lexical items) are generally the first elements to be adopted from the foreign (source) language (Mathumba, 1993:175,176).

2.7.1 Phylogenetic change

Hockett (Mathumba 1993:176) distinguishes between change which emanates from related languages, and change which results from an entirely foreign language. The former category is labelled **phylogenetic change**. Mathumba pursues this type of change in his subreport as he is mainly concerned with changes to Tsonga as a result of contact with related African languages. He devotes little attention to the adoption of foreign words from the European languages.

In the case of phylogenetic change, the languages or dialects involved are deemed related because they derive from the same language family or parent language. In this sense, Mathumba (1993:176) explains that Tsonga, Venda, Zulu, and Northern Sotho are related because they all derive from the postulated "Proto-Bantu X ancestor".

2.8 SOURCE LANGUAGES

Although influenced by many languages, the greatest impact on the lexicons of the African languages has undoubtedly come from English and Afrikaans. Koopman (1994:32) indicates that the use of "Afrikaans" in this sense, is subject to the qualification that many of the words which are indicated as having been adopted from Afrikaans, in fact entered the African languages before the particular dialect of Dutch spoken in South Africa in the 18th and 19th centuries, was formally acknowledged and described as "Afrikaans".

Some adoptives for related concepts may be taken from different languages, e.g. the Zulu adoptive for 'magistrate's office' **inkantolo** is from Afrikaans, but the person who sits inside it - the **imantshi** - takes his title from English (Koopman, 1994:32).

On occasion, both English and Afrikaans provide joint adoptives for various concepts, as in **iwasikote** 'waistcoat' (from Eng.) and **intolobhantshi** 'waistcoat' (< Afr. *onderbaadjie*). In some instances such pairs denote a difference in usage, but in others they are used completely interchangeably.

It is interesting to note that English seems to have a far greater influence in Zulu (or the Nguni languages *per se*) whereas adoptives from Afrikaans seem to be far more prevalent in the Sotho languages. Koopman (1994:34) indicates that 72,1% of the adoptives in the (1958) Zulu-English Dictionary of Doke and Vilakazi (henceforth D & V) come from English and only 23,4% from Afrikaans. On the other hand, he is able to indicate that many adoptives in Southern Sotho come from Afrikaans where the Zulu equivalent is from English. The following are some of the examples he cites:

SSo.:				Zulu:
tjêlêtê	<	*geld*	'money'	cf. **imali**
twêne	<	*tuin*	'garden'	cf. **ingadi**
boroso	<	*wors*	'sausage'	cf. **isosishi**

This predominance of adoptives from a particular source language, indicates that historical and geographical proximity plays a significant role in language interference. The proximity of the Afrikaans-speaking farmers to Southern Sotho speakers, can for instance explain the fact that adoptives from Afrikaans far outnumber those from English in Southern Sotho (Koopman, 1994:34).

Mathumba (1993) and Madiba (1994), discuss the influence which other African languages have had on the use of Tsonga and Venda respectively. They provide detailed historical overviews of the migratory patterns and language contact situations in which the speakers of these two languages have found themselves over the years. Although it is not within the scope of this report to include these discussions here, the reader is urged to consult these subreports for these sketches.

In some instances, it is difficult to say which language is the source language, e.g. the Zulu adoptive **isambulela** is indicated by D & V as being from Afrikaans *sambreel*, but English *umbrella* seems just as likely (Koopman, 1994:36). Further mention of the percentages of

adoptives as they relate to specific semantic categories of adoptives, will be discussed under 7.9. Other interesting aspects related to percentages of adoptives in certain semantic categories, can be referred to in Koopman's subreport (1994:35-37).

Source languages which play a role in varieties such as Black Urban Vernaculars (Pretoria Sotho, and Tembisa Mixed Language) as well as in other non-standard varieties such as Tsotsitaal and Iscamtho, are discussed in the following Chapter (see 3.4.5).

2.8.1 African languages as source languages

Examples where African languages are the source languages, are provided by Mathumba (1993) in his analysis of lexical adoption in Tsonga with reference to core vocabularies of words in the various Tsonga dialects. He indicates the rendition of these words in the various dialects of Tsonga, as well as in Pretoria Tsonga, and discusses the language contact processes which led to the lexical differences between these dialects. Reference is also made to the languages which were responsible for these differences.

He indicates for instance, that Luleke and Gwamba have been influenced by Venda and to a lesser extent by Nguni. Changana shows a high degree of Nguni influence, Pretoria Tsonga a high degree of Pretoria Sotho influence, and the dialects Nhlangana and Nkuna influence from Nguni and Northern Sotho.

The high degree of influence from Nguni in Tsonga, is understandable when it is considered that the Tsongas were compelled to use Nguni (Zulu) for communication purposes under the reign of Soshangane, after being conquered by his followers who were Zulu-speaking.

In most cases, lexical adoption in Tsonga has been the result of contact with other African languages due to migration (and subsequent intermarriage). There is thus more evidence (in Mathumba's subreport) of the adoption of words from other African languages, and little reference to the influence of Afrikaans and English. Where the contact has been with Venda speaking people, there is a predominance of Venda influence, while in the case of contact with Northern Sotho speaking people, this language has obviously influenced the Tsonga language, and so on. Examples of these influences appear in Appendix A of Mathumba's subreport, and are discussed *inter alia* on pages 182-189 of his report.

Examples of the different manifestations of a word in the different dialects of Tsonga due to the above-mentioned contact, are presented in the following table:

English	Luleke	Gwamba	Nkuna	Nhlanganu	Changana	Pta.Tsonga
pester	-karhata	-karhata	-karhata	-hlupha	-hlupha	-tshwenya
pick up	-thumbha	-thumbha	-thumbha	-rhola	-thumba	-doba
go up	-gonya	-gonya	-khweza	-khupuka	-khupuka	-khandziyela

Mathumba (1993:183) indicates that in certain instances, adopted words have become so entrenched in the Tsonga language, that speakers are no longer aware of them as being

adoptives. Of course, not all differences between the dialects of Tsonga are the result of adoption. In some cases, these differences are inherent to the different dialects (Mathumba, 1993:188).

In many instances, the adoption of words into Tsonga from other African languages, is linked neither to the need-filling motive nor to the prestige motive. The reason which Mathumba (1993:183) proposes for such adoptions is that they are simply due to prolonged contact between the languages (dialects) concerned.

Lexical "borrowing" in Pretoria Tsonga, perhaps deserves special mention here, as it is an example of change in Tsonga due to urbanisation. Pretoria Tsonga is, according to Mathumba (1993:186), mainly influenced by Pretoria Sotho (see 3.4.5.1) as the latter dominates in the Pretoria area. The trend of adoption is thus in the direction of the minority language, *viz.* Tsonga. Mathumba labels this **intimate** "borrowing" as the influence again extends beyond the need-filling motive. Examples of Pretoria Tsonga adoptives from Pretoria Sotho, are the following:

-rabela	<	Pta.So.	*-rapela*	'pray'
-tshwenya	<	Pta.So.	*-tshwenya*	'pester'
-doba	<	Pta.So.	*-topa*	'pick up'
-khodlelela	<	Pta.So.	*-khotlelela*	'persevere'

The standard Tsonga equivalents of these words are **-khongela, -karhata, -thumbha** and **-tiyisela** respectively.

2.9 THE QUESTION OF LANGUAGE PURITY

Koopman interestingly points out that linguists have in the past been reluctant to take a stand on whether language contact is "good" or "bad", as is indicated by the cautious wording in the following two quotes:

> ... different languages ... will acquire something from, and in turn give something to the others. *Whether that something is to prove an advantage or otherwise*, time alone can determine.
>
> (Pettman in Koopman, 1994:16) (own emphasis)

> It is common knowledge, among anthropologists and linguists at least, that when different cultures and languages come into contact, *by whatever stroke of good or bad fortune*, substantial adoption of cultural and linguistic features occurs - and by no means least, of vocabulary.
>
> (Cole in Koopman, *op. cit.*) (own emphasis)

The results of language contact are often referred to as "corruptions", "bastardisations", "contaminations" and "misdoings", indicating that the question of language purity can arouse strong feelings (Koopman, 1994:16,17). However, there seems to be a clear distinction between what Ansre (Koopman, 1994:19) refers to as "purists" - speakers of a language who "take strong exception to what they term 'adulteration' of their language", and others who are

"anxious to introduce loans from other languages into their own" because of perceived prestige in doing so. Although few scholars take a positive view of "language mixing", some see the addition of foreign elements as a strengthening of the language, or as part of a living language, created by the mother tongue speakers themselves. An important point to be made here, and one which will be reflected on again in the discussion of language planning, is the view that a language belongs to its speakers and not to outsiders. As such, outsiders do not have the right to impose changes which have not come from "the people".

Between these two extremes, lies the middle ground of pragmatism - the acceptance that language change and the adoption of foreign words in a language's lexicon are inevitable, but that such change can be controlled (Koopman, 1994:20). This issue will come up for discussion at various stages of this report. Proposals for gaining control over the change, will be discussed in Chapter 9.

An interesting phenomenon observed by Mathumba (1993:192) in his research, was that respondents were favourably disposed towards the use of adoptives in their own dialect, but were intolerant of adoptives in other dialects. Those who showed the least concern regarding dialectical differences, were the enlightened teachers, who viewed different lexical acquisitions as synonyms. However, adoptives from Pretoria Sotho were summarily rejected.

2.10 VARIETY-SYNTHESIS

Another consequence of language contact and the "mixing-up" of varieties, is a process whereby a new variety is created out of two (or more) existing ones. This process of "variety-synthesis" (as referred to by Hudson, 1980:61), may take a number of forms.

A special kind of language contact situation leads to the development of language varieties called **pidgins** and **creoles**. Pidgins and creoles are often called "mixed" languages, implying that they are created from two or more languages and that they have no structure of their own but constitute a blend of two languages (Calteaux, 1994:256).

The current majority opinion, however, considers pidgins and creoles to be languages in their own right and not just corrupted forms of some standard language (Lehiste, 1988:77). Although most pidgins and creoles are European-based, meaning that the vocabulary can be identified as having come from one of the European languages, non-European creoles are also found in Africa. Fanakalo is an example of a pidgin found in South Africa. Koinés, described by Samarin (1968:133) as an amalgamation of "features from several regional varieties of a single language...", are a further phenomenon of variety-synthesis.

For further discussion of the phenomena of variety-synthesis, refer to the subreport by Calteaux (1994:26-31).

2.11 LINGUISTIC VARIATION IN SPEECH COMMUNITIES

2.11.1 The concept "language variety"

Language variety is a neutral term which can be used to refer to regional dialects, social dialects, etc. According to Crystal (1987:34) the term "variety" is used in sociolinguistics to refer to:

> any SYSTEM OF LINGUISTIC EXPRESSION whose use is governed by SITUATIONAL VARIABLES.

If one thinks of "language" as a phenomenon including all the languages of the world, the term **variety of language** (or just [language] **variety** for short) can be used to refer to different manifestations of language, in the same way as one may take "music" as a general phenomenon and then distinguish different "varieties of music". What makes one variety different from another is the linguistic items which it includes, so we may define a variety of language as **"a set of linguistic items with similar social distribution"** (Hudson, 1980:24).

From a list of "language varieties" such as the following: English, French, London English, the English of football commentaries, the language(s) used by a particular person, we can see that "variety" is a very general notion and includes examples of what would normally be called languages, dialects and registers.

2.11.2 The concept "speech community"

The definition employed in this report is that of Hymes (in Coulthard, 1977:32) namely "any group which shares **both** linguistic resources **and** rules for interaction and interpretation". This concept is discussed in detail in Calteaux (1994:18,19) and the reader is referred to that subreport for more information on this concept.

2.11.3 "Language" vs. "Dialect"

The most widely recognised types of language variety are **language**, **dialect** and **register**. All three these concepts are difficult to define and delimit.

The distinction between **language** and **dialect** was originally drawn in Greek due to the existence of a number of clearly distinct written varieties in use in Classical Greece, each associated with a different area and used for a different kind of literature. The equivalents of language and dialect in French also indicate a different interpretation of these terms than what we have in English. In French the word ***dialecte*** refers only to regional varieties that are written and have a literature, in contrast with regional varieties which are not written and which are called ***patios***.

According to Hudson (1980:31,32) the difference, for English speakers, between a language and a dialect is twofold. Firstly, there is a difference in **size** because a language is larger than a dialect, in other words a language contains more items than a dialect. In this sense we may

refer to English as a language containing the sum total of all the terms in all its dialects, with "Standard English" (SE) as one dialect among many others (Yorkshire English, Indian English etc.).

Secondly, these varieties differ in terms of the **prestige** bestowed on each, a language having prestige whilst a dialect lacks it. If we apply this, however, Standard English is not a dialect at all, but a language, whereas the varieties which are not used in formal writing, are dialects. Whether a variety is used in formal writing, therefore has a direct bearing on its prestige. For this reason, unwritten languages in Britain are often referred to as dialects, irrespective of whether or not there is a (proper) language to which they are related.

One would therefore have to have another criterion according to which language and dialect can be distinguished from one another. The obvious candidate for this is **mutual intelligibility**. If the speakers of two varieties can understand one another, then the varieties are instances of the same language; otherwise they are separate varieties. There are, however, serious problems with the application of this criterion: popular usage does not always correspond consistently to this criterion, but rather reflects the idea of prestige, so that if two languages are both standards, they must both be separate languages and conversely, if they are both subordinate to the same standard, they must be dialects of the same language. Another common problem is that dialects belonging to the same language are not always mutually intelligible in their *spoken form* (Crystal, 1987:25). The speakers of mutually unintelligible dialects may, however, share a common written language. On this count the varieties could therefore be called dialects of the same language. Mutual intelligibility is also a matter of degree - ranging from total intelligibility to total unintelligibility.

The problematic nature of the distinction between "language" and "dialect" can be seen clearly in the situation with the African languages in South Africa, where one of the regional dialects of each of the language groups, has been elevated to the level of a "standard language". In other words, this regional dialect has been subjected to the process of standardisation (see 2.11.7), whereby it has become codified and used for higher functions, and in the process its use has become prestigious. In these cases, mutual intelligibility cannot serve as a criterion to distinguish between "language" and "dialect", but it can be a useful tool to distinguish between separate languages or varieties of separate languages. For example, mutual intelligibility cannot be used to distinguish "standard" Northern Sotho from regional dialects of Northern Sotho such as Kutswe, Pulana, and Phalaborwa, as these varieties are mutually intelligible. It can, however, be used to distinguish "standard" Northern Sotho from "standard" Zulu as these two varieties are not mutually intelligible. As indicated below, however, mutual intelligibility alone cannot be used to distinguish between the three "standard" Sotho "languages" (Calteaux, 1994:38).

We must therefore agree with Hudson (1980:37) that there is no real distinction to be drawn between language and dialect, except with reference to prestige, where it would be better to use the term "standard language" or "standard" rather than just "language". Likewise, it would be more lucid to refer to "regional" or "social" dialect, rather than simply "dialect" (see 2.11.9).

The notion of varieties sharing a common *written form*, being dialects of the same language, can also be applied to the African languages. Based on this criterion, the three Sotho

"languages" (Northern Sotho, Southern Sotho and Tswana) can be distinguished as three *autonomous languages* as they do not share a common written form, but each have their own written form. However, in the case of certain township varieties which do not have a history of codification, for example Tembisa Mixed language, Tsotsitaal and Iscamtho, but which themselves display internal (dialectal) variation, this criterion alone cannot be used to distinguish between "language" and "dialect" (Calteaux, *op. cit.*).

Van Wyk (1992:25) sheds more light on the problematics of defining the concepts "language" and "dialect". He states that before the advent of sociolinguistics, languages and dialects had been regarded as discrete and more or less autonomous entities. However, as sociolinguistics gained momentum, it became clear that the spectrum of variety was much more complex and a new concept of "language" gradually emerged. Language varieties were no longer seen as discrete, neatly distinguishable entities, but as entities with multidimensional variability.

A similar approach is taken by Ulrich Ammon (1987:317) who attempts to clarify the use of terms such as "language", "variety" and "dialect" as follows:

> We have decided on the two terminological pairs mentioned in the title: *language - variety* and *standard variety - dialect*. The relations between the denoted concepts are by no means analogous. Languages are sets of varieties and thus varieties are elements of languages; standard varieties and dialects (= dialectal varieties) on the other hand are various types of such elements (varieties). So a language can contain dialects and one or more standard varieties (whereby a variety is never a dialect and a standard variety simultaneously) as well as other types of varieties.

The debate surrounding "language", "variety" and "dialect" can hardly be settled within the scope of this report. What we are looking for, are labels which will enable us to refer to the phenomena encountered in the research. Following the suggestions of Hudson, terms such as social dialect, regional dialect, standard language, non-standard language, will be used, where possible, for the purposes of clarity. The term "variety" is used in the neutral sense as described by both Hudson, and Ammon, i.e. not referring specifically to regional or social dialect, nor to standard or non-standard forms.

In some subreports, for example that of Mathumba (1993), the term "language" is used specifically to refer to "the written variety that is used in formal situations". This is the variety used by political leaders, the language taught in the schools, used in literature and used by the media. "Dialect" on the other hand, refers to "those varieties which differ from the standard variety and have not been reduced to writing" (Mathumba, 1993:19). This differentiation is commonly employed with regard to the African languages, and is also essential to the discussion of the influence which the dialects of Tsonga have on the use of the standard language, which is the focus of the subreport in question.

2.11.4 Verbal repertoires

The focal point of a description of the language situation in a speech community, is its verbal or linguistic repertoire (Calteaux, 1994:40).

The verbal repertoire of a speaker consists of all the linguistic options, varieties, choices and strategies available to him. It includes, of course, the grammar and lexicon of his vernacular, i.e. that variety he has learned first and speaks with the least effort. But it may also include other languages, other varieties of his mother tongue and a host of other options connected with these languages and varieties. The scope of his repertoire depends partly on the society he lives in and partly on his personal experience and history (Van Wyk, s.a.:1).

One can distinguish between the personal repertoire of an individual speaker and the communal repertoire of a community, society or nation. The totality of linguistic resources available to the members of a community for socially significant interaction, constitutes the linguistic repertoire of that community. The linguistic varieties in a repertoire are not defined by their origins or structural unity, but by their differing uses or functions in the social life of a particular group (Gal, 1987:286).

In fact, recent trends seem to propagate that the repertoire as a single system should be seen on a societal or individual level rather than on a linguistic level, such that various codes are selected by members of the community according to socially determined rules of appropriateness (cf. also Zungu, 1995).

Van Wyk (s.a.:4,5) distinguishes the following components as being typical of verbal repertoires. It must be kept in mind, however, that the components of verbal repertoires are *multi-dimensional*, i.e. they do not occur singly, but normally function in complex inter-relations with the other components:

- **Registers**

  A register is a more or less discrete set of lexical items and expressions adapted to specific topics and social situations. Thus there are registers pertaining to law, religion, history, politics, etc. Registers become *jargons* when they are typical of the speech of certain occupations or interest groups.

- **Stylistic varieties**

  Style, according to the sociolinguistic interpretation of the term, refers to the relation between language and formality, usually manifesting itself in a continuous spectrum ranging between formal and informal.

- **Regional varieties**

  Regional or dialectal varieties are language varieties which are geographically distributed.

- **Social varieties**

  Social or sociolectal varieties are linguistic varieties which are socially distributed and are therefore typical of different social classes or strata, ethnic groups, communities, etc. Sociolectal differences can be discrete but are normally continuous.

- **Slang varieties**

  Slang varieties are varieties used by particular subcultures in a community or society, such as scholars, students, gangs, sportsmen, etc. Slang varieties are normally of the discrete type.

- **Intercultural varieties**

  These are language varieties which are used to facilitate communication between speakers of different mother tongues. Typical examples are pidgins such as Fanakalo, *lingua francas* such as English or Swahili, koinés such as Pretoria Sotho.

- **Diglossic varieties**

  When two languages or two varieties of the same language are used in a stable manner by all the members of the same community for different functions, a diglossic relation obtains between them.

- **Standard varieties**

  One of the language varieties that feature in communal repertoires of literate societies are the so-called standard languages.

2.11.5 Register

Registers are an integral part of community as well as individual linguistic repertoires. Halliday (1968:149) states clearly that language varies as its function varies; it differs in different situations. The name given to a variety of language distinguished according to *use*, is **register**, as opposed to **dialect**, which can be defined as "variety according to *user*". This distinction is needed because the same person may use very different linguistic items to express more or less the same meaning on different occasions, and the concept of "dialect" cannot reasonably be extended to include such variation. The category of "register" is needed when we want to account for what people do with their language. When we observe language activity in the various contexts in which it takes place, we find differences in the type of language selected as appropriate to different types of situation. It is not the event or state of affairs being talked about that determines the choice, but the convention that a certain type of language is appropriate to a certain use (Halliday, 1968:149). The subreport by Zungu (1995) presents an extensive study of the nature and use of registers (and codes) in the Greater Durban Area (GDA).

Registers are sets of vocabulary items associated with discrete occupational or social groups. Surgeons, airline pilots, bank managers, sales clerks, jazz fans, all use different vocabularies. Of course, one person may control a variety of registers; you can be a stockbroker and an archaeologist, or a mountaineer and an economist. Zungu (1995) describes the following registers (codes): transportation, tavern, educational, soccer, hospital, prison, and township.

Dialect, style and register differences are largely independent: you can talk casually about mountain climbing in a local variety of a language, or you can write a formal technical study on wine-making (Wardhaugh, 1986:48-50).

Dialects tend to differ primarily in substance. Registers, on the other hand differ primarily in form. Some registers do have distinctive features at other levels, such as the voice quality associated with the register of church services. But the crucial criteria of any given register are to be found in its grammar and lexis. Zungu (1995) provides detailed descriptions of the lexical items typical to each register she distinguishes. Included in her subreport, is also a detailed analysis of the phonological, morphological and semantic aspects of the lexical items which make up the different registers (and codes). Discussion of these features has been included in the chapters of the present report which deal with these aspects.

A point of similarity between dialects and registers, according to Hudson (1980:48-51) is that they overlap considerably - one man's dialect is another man's register. For example, the items which one person uses under all circumstances, however informal, may be used by someone else only on the most formal occasions, where he feels he needs to sound as much like the first person as he can. This is the relation between "native" speakers of standard and non-standard dialects. Forms which are part of a standard speaker's "dialect" are part of a special "register" for the non-standard speaker.

The notion of register is both very simple and very powerful. It refers to the fact that the language we speak or write varies according to the type of situation. Being appropriate to the situation is not some optional extra in language; it is an essential element in the activity to "mean".

Register differences can be interpreted in terms of three "dimensions", *viz.*

- **field**, which is concerned with the **purpose** and **subject-matter** of the communication;
- **mode**, which refers to the **means** by which communication takes place (speech or writing), and
- **tenor**, which depends on the **relations** between participants. (Hudson, 1980:48-51)

The distinction between one register and another is a distinction of **what** is said as much as of **how** it is said. If a seven-year-old insists on using slang when you think he should be using more formal language, this is a dispute about registers (Halliday, 1978:34).

The two kinds of language variety, register and dialect, are closely interconnected. The structure of society determines who, in terms of the various social hierarchies of class, generation, age, sex, provenance and so on, will have access to which aspects of the social process - and hence to which registers. This means, in turn, that a particular register tends to have a particular dialect associated with it; the registers of bureaucracy, for example, demand the standard (national) dialect, whereas fishing and farming demand rural (local) varieties. Hence the dialect comes to symbolise the register; when we hear a local dialect, we unconsciously switch off a large part of our register range. In this way, in a typical hierarchical social structure, dialect becomes the means by which a member gains, or is denied, access to certain registers (Halliday, 1978:186).

The notion of "developing a language" (see also Chapter 9) means adding to its range of social functions. This is achieved by developing new registers.

2.11.6 Standard language

One of the language varieties that features in communal repertoires of literate societies, is the so-called **standard language**. Standard language refers to the written, formal form of the language. It is taught in the schools and used in publications and on the radio.

As with so many other sociolinguistic concepts, the concept **standard language** cannot be defined clearly and precisely. Language varieties which are regarded as standard can and do differ in a number of ways. The only feature that seems to be shared by all standard languages is the fact that they are recognised or accepted by, or prescribed for, given communities or societies as a ***superordinate variety***. This means that a standard language is shared by, or even required of, all members of a community, irrespective of the vernaculars which individual speakers may use at home, i.e. it transcends all the other varieties in the personal repertoires of the members of the community (Calteaux, 1994:44).

Garvin and Mathiot (1968:365) define a standard language as:

> a codified form of a language, accepted by, and serving as a model to, a larger speech community.

Van Wyk's (1992:25) definition below, illuminates two further aspects of standard language, namely, that (a) standard languages must serve speakers of different non-standard varieties, and (b) that standard languages carry a measure or prestige and with that also power. He favours the view held by various sociolinguists, that standard languages are:

> superordinate language varieties representing in one way or another correct or prestigious linguistic usage.

Whereas normal language development takes place in a rather haphazard way and largely below the threshold of consciousness of the speakers, standard languages are the result of a direct and deliberate intervention by society. This intervention produces a standard language, where before there were just "dialects" (i.e. non-standard varieties).

Van Wyk (1992:26-32) distinguishes the following characteristics of a standard language:

- A distinction has to be made between **ideal standards** and **factual standards**. An ideal standard is a language variety which people believe to be, or which authoritative bodies prescribe as, the standard for a community. A factual standard on the other hand, is that variety which is in fact used as a standard by a community, irrespective of whether it corresponds with the ideal.

- Standard languages are **superordinate varieties**, co-existing with and used by speakers of various non-standard varieties.

- Standard languages are normally used for **higher functions**.

- Standard languages are **in no sense superior** to or better than non-standard varieties.

- Language varieties may have attained standard status as a result of various different factors, in other words the **standardisation** of a given variety **is the result of historical accident**.

- A language variety may serve as standard in **written** form or in **spoken** form or in both. Standard languages are normally sets of linguistic norms recognised by and strived at by the members of a speech community.

- Standard languages normally tend to represent the **formal** end of the style spectrum.

- Standard languages may be more or less uniform, but are often extremely **vague and difficult to define**.

- Standard languages **may or may not be official languages**. Although they may coincide in particular cases, it is therefore necessary to distinguish between the concepts "official language", "national language" and "standard language".

- Standard languages **may or may not be based on vernacular varieties**.

- Standard languages are **not necessarily used by all** or even by any speakers of a community.

- Standard languages **may or may not have subvarieties**.

- Standard languages **are not static**.

The concept of a "standard" is defined in relation to the language community: to a Zulu person, "standard" could only mean standard Zulu, not standard Tswana (Calteaux, 1994:45; cf. also Halliday, 1968:146).

2.11.7 Standardisation

According to Hudson (1980:33,34), a typical standard language will have passed through the following processes:

- **Selection:** the choice of one dialect from the many to be developed into a standard language. The choice usually falls on the dialect used by political leaders and the higher socio-economic classes (although other options exist).
- **Codification:** the systematised fixing of the grammatical rules of the chosen language in grammar books and dictionaries, after which the members of the relevant speech community will have to learn it.

- **Elaboration of function:** enlargement of the scope of use of the language which was chosen, so that it is now used in government circles, schools, the media, religious activities, and in literature.
- **Acceptance:** the variety which was chosen should be accepted by the community and serve as a unifying force. (cf. also Mathumba, 1993:20,21)

In South Africa, the standard forms of the African languages are based on regional dialects which are spoken in the rural areas. In standardising Tsonga, for instance, the dialect chosen as point of departure, was that used in translating the Bible, namely Dzonga, which was the dialect spoken by the central clans including the Nkuna. For this reason, Nkuna (with Hlavi and Hlengwe influence) is seen as the standard dialect of Tsonga. The term "Tsonga" is an umbrella term for all the dialects of Tsonga (Mathumba, 1993:22,24). Mathumba (1993:208) indicates, however, that despite the efforts at standardising Tsonga and the many rulings and recommendations of the Tsonga Language Board, problems with regard to spelling and orthography occur frequently as a result of differences among the Tsonga dialects with regard to their phonetic and phonological components.

Malimabe (1990:4-7); and Mathumba (1993:27-39); discuss the history of the standardisation of Tswana, and Tsonga respectively, in their subreports. The reader is referred to these pages for further information on this aspect of the African languages.

The codification of a language often goes hand-in-hand with *prescription*, i.e. the designation of the forms of the standard as the only "correct" ones. From there the notion that standard languages are superior and non-standard social dialects "vulgar", "slovenly", "low", "barbarous" etc. (Fairclough, 1989:57; cf. also 3.4.5.6).

It is quite normal for members of a language community which has a standard language to continue to use both the native and the learnt (standard) dialect in different situations in their lives. The results of such language practice are discussed in the following chapter, and the implications, *viz.* the influence of non-standard varieties on the use of the standard language, form the central theme of the report.

2.11.8 Non-standard language varieties

A language or variety which does not conform to the "institutionalised norm" mentioned above, is referred to as **non-standard**. Typically, non-standard dialects are not **socially** equal to the standard dialect, i.e. speaking the standard dialect is associated with high socio-economic prestige. Crystal (1987) adds that non-standard (or even substandard) is not intended to suggest that these varieties "lack standards" in any linguistic sense.

Halliday (1978:158) has the following to say about standard and non-standard varieties:

> Typical to variation in the city, is that the various subcultures - social class, generational and others - mark themselves off by their patterns of selection within the range of linguistic variation. Certain fairly general features of pronunciation or of grammar come to be associated with a particular group in the community. People in cities tend to distinguish with some force between an

> approved variety, the standard and other varieties (non-standard or dialectal) of which they disapprove. Linguists have been insisting for decades that no one form of speech is intrinsically more worthy of respect than any other. Most of the time what we find are dialect hierarchies, patterns of dialectal variation in which a "standard" is opposed by "non-standard" varieties.

Myers-Scotton (1992:6) states that there are various terms for non-standard dialects:

> They are sometimes called **colloquial**. Another word more used in the Francophone world is **patois**. Another possible term is **vernacular**, but this is sometimes used for languages as well as dialects. ... Typically, non-standard dialects are those varieties which are not written.

Like Crystal above, she also emphasises that it is important to recognise that all dialects are structurally equal in the sense that they are rule-governed. The use of double negatives in a language such as Black English Vernacular, cannot be regarded as an "error", "[I]t is just that Black English Vernacular marks negatives in this way".

The main non-standard language varieties are dialects. In fact, Mathumba (1993:125) found that a main reason for the occurrence of non-standard forms in language use, was the sentiment of **dialectalism**. This is a term which he coined to refer to the spirit (in Tsonga) of resenting the use of a spelling based on a dialect other than one's own, with the resultant desire to push one's own dialect to the fore-front. It is not certain whether this phenomenon occurs in any of the other languages. No mention of such a trend was made by any of the other researchers. It should therefore be investigated whether this is only characteristic of Tsonga speakers, or whether it applies in other languages as well.

2.11.9 Regional dialect vs. Social dialect

Crystal (1987:92) defines a dialect as:

> a regionally or socially distinctive VARIETY of a language, identified by a particular set of WORDS and GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURES.

This definition indicates that there are two distinct types of dialects, namely **regional dialects** and **social dialects**. **Regional dialects** are variations based on geography. Phalaborwa, Kutswe, Pulana, Pai and Pedi are regional dialects of Northern Sotho.

Social dialects or sociolects as they are also known, are dialects which can be distinguished on the basis of non-regional differences, such as social class, age, sex, status or social setting. Social class often takes precedence over geography as a determinant of speech. A speaker may show more similarity in his language to people from the same social group in a different area, than he would to people in a different social group in the same area. Social dialects are described in terms of inter-speaker attitudes. Any group of speakers of language X which regards itself as a close social unit, will tend to express its group solidarity by favouring those linguistic innovations which set it apart from other speakers of X who are not part of the group. On the other hand, all things being equal, if two speakers A and B of language X

communicate in language X and if A regards B as having more prestige than himself and aspires to equal B's status, then the variety of X spoken by A will tend towards identity with that spoken by B (Calteaux, 1994:48).

Spoken dialects are usually associated with a distinctive pronunciation, or **accent**. Because of differences in sensitivity to regional and social distinctions between pronunciation and other aspects of language, it is normal to distinguish between accent and dialect. **Accent** refers to nothing but pronunciation whereas **dialect** refers to every aspect of language including pronunciation. This allows linguists in certain countries to distinguish between standard dialects and non-standard dialects. Thus in Britain, many people use a regional accent but the standard dialect and a select few use RP (Received Pronunciation or better known as "The Queen's English") accent with the same standard dialect. In South Africa, however, standard and non-standard varieties are not distinguished on the basis of accent (Calteaux, 1994:49).

2.11.10 Lingua franca

As mentioned earlier, speakers of different languages who come into contact with one another, must arrive at a common medium of communication. It is not unusual that a ***lingua franca*** be chosen as the medium of communication in such situations (see 3.3).

Samarin (1968:61) defines a ***lingua franca*** as

> A language which is used habitually by people whose mother tongues are different, in order to facilitate communication between them.

2.12 LANGUAGE USE IN A SPEECH COMMUNITY

2.12.1 Introduction

Language has different roles to play within a speech community; even in a monolingual community different speech styles are employed for different roles. A "high style" is used for some functions, such as delivering a sermon in a church, synagogue, or mosque; a "low style" is appropriate in other situations such as conversing among friends. Being a member of a speech community requires **communicative competence**, knowing what style is appropriate to use in a given situation.

Although it is virtually impossible identify every possible contact situation in order to describe the variation which takes place in each, it is possible to determine certain dominant factors which influence the choice of a code.

2.12.2 Code choice in multilingual speech communities

In Fishman's terms code choice can be related to **Who** speaks **What** to **Whom** and **When**. According to this point of view, we would therefore need to identify the **interlocutors** (Who

and Whom), the **type of variety used** (What) and the **setting** (When) in which the conversation takes place.

According to Fishman (1972:437) "*proper* usage dictates that only *one* of the theoretically co-available languages or varieties *will* be chosen by particular classes of *interlocutors* on particular kinds of *occasions* to discuss particular kinds of *topics*."

Taking the above into account, the following factors can therefore be distinguished as possible determiners of code choice: *topic*, *interlocutors*, *setting* and *functions* of language.

2.12.2.1 Topic

The fact that two individuals usually speak to each other in X but switch to Y when discussing certain topics, leads us to consider topic *per se* as a regulator of language use in multilingual settings. The implication of topical regulation of language choice is that certain topics are somehow handled "better" or more appropriately in one language than in another in particular multilingual settings (Fishman, 1972:439).

2.12.2.2 The Interlocutors / Participants in the speech event

Hymes' (1974) ethnographic framework of speech, distinguishes various factors which can be identified as conditioning linguistic diversity. Although the number of factors involved may differ from one case to the next, three of them account for most cases of diversity, *viz.* the dimensions of *sender*, *receiver* and *setting*.

The *setting* is the time and place, in other words the concrete physical circumstances in which speech takes place (see 2.12.2.3 below). The *sender and receiver* are the participants or interlocutors in the speech event who determine the choice of a code in that certain varieties are typically associated with certain speakers. Two friends would rather use an informal or colloquial variety of a language than the formal or standard variety when speaking to one another. On the other hand, someone addressing a government employee would choose the standard language as medium of communication rather than a colloquial variety. In the same way, members of a gang would employ a slang variety when speaking to one another, but would not speak this to outsiders, opting for a colloquial variety instead (Calteaux, 1994:51).

2.12.2.3 Setting and Domains of language use

The first attempt (1963) at categorising the sources of linguistic variance came from Schmidt-Rohr (cf. Fishman, 1972:440) who tried to distinguish various domains of behaviour in order to establish the overall-status of language choice in a speech community. Schmidt-Rohr (Fishman, 1972:441) recommended the following domains: *the family, the playground and street, the school (subdivided into language of instruction, subject of instruction, and language of recess and entertainment), the church, literature, the press, the military, the courts and the governmental administration.*

Fishman (Pride, 1971:6) describes domains of language use as:

the occasions on which one language (variant, dialect, style, etc.) is habitually employed rather than (or in addition to) another.

Domains are generalised from congruent situations, in other words from situations in which individuals are interacting in appropriate role-relations with each other, in the appropriate locales for these role-relations, and are discussing topics appropriate to their role-relations. They enable us to understand that language choice and topic are related to widespread socio-cultural norms and expectations. By recognising the existence of domains, it becomes possible to contrast the language of topics for individuals, or particular subpopulations, with the language of domains for a larger part, if not the whole, of the population.

A domain is therefore a socio-cultural construct abstracted from topics of communication, relations between communicators, locales of communication, in accordance with the institutions in society and spheres of activity of a speech community, in such a way that individual behaviour and social patterns can be distinguished from each other and yet related to each other (Fishman, 1972:442). Domains of use are thus larger constructs than locales and should not be confused with locales (also known as spheres) of use.

Discussion of the language use patterns in urban areas in the following chapter, will be formulated around these determinants of code choice.

2.12.2.4 Sociolinguistic functions of languages

The functions of particular language varieties in a speech community, are an essential aspect of the research presented here. The following sociolinguistic functions distinguished by Stewart (1968:540,541), will be referred to again later in the report, when the implications of this research for language planning and education are discussed:

- **Official (o)** - the function as a legally appropriate language for all politically and culturally representative purposes on a nation-wide basis. In many cases the **o** function is specified constitutionally.

- **Provincial (p)** - the function as a provincial or regional official language. In this case, the official function of the language is not nation-wide, but limited to a smaller geographical area.

- **Wider communication (w)** - the function of a linguistic system (other than one which already has **o/p** function) predominating as a medium of communication across language boundaries within the nation.

- **International (i)** - the function of a linguistic system (not **o/p**) as a major medium of communication which is international in scope, e.g. for diplomatic relations, foreign trade, tourism, etc.

- **Capital (c)** - the function of a linguistic system (not **o/p**) as the primary medium of communication in the vicinity of the national capital. This function is especially important in countries where political power, social prestige, and economic activity are centred in the capital.

- **Group (g)** - the function of a linguistic system primarily as the normal medium of communication among the members of a single cultural or ethnic group, such as a tribe, settled group of foreign immigrants, etc. So strong can the association between linguistic behaviour and group identity be, that at times a linguistic system with a **g** function may serve as an informal criterion for ascertaining group membership.

- **Educational (e)** - the function of a language (other than one which already has an **o** or **p** function) as a medium of primary or secondary education, either regionally or nationally.

- **School subject (s)** - the language (other than one which already has an **o** or **p** function) is commonly taught as a subject in secondary and/or higher education.

- **Literary (l)** - the use of a language primarily for literary or scholarly purposes.

- **Religious (r)** - the use of a language primarily in connection with the ritual of a particular religion.

Calteaux (1994:273-275) provides a model for describing multilingualism in black urban speech communities, in which she classifies the types of languages found in such communities and provides formulas for describing the language situation in such communities. The reader is referred to her subreport for further details.

2.13 CONCLUDING REMARKS

Detailed discussions of the issues related to language variation also occur in Zungu (1995:14-58). For more information on issues such as age and gender as factors in code choice; types of language variation (internal vs. contact variation and inter-speaker vs. intra-speaker variation); and theories of language variation (*inter alia* speech accommodation theory, cognitive uncertainty theory, and causal attribution theory), the reader is referred to her subreport.

Although rather comprehensive, the information presented in this chapter is important for contextualisation of the research presented in the body of this report. A sound theoretical base in an essential foundation for scientific research of the calibre presented here.

However, this chapter equally raises some issues of contention which have not been dealt with adequately here. Recognition is hereby extended to Prof. SC Satyo for summarising some of these issues as follows:

> When one comes across the terms "standard" and "non-standard" with reference to the African languages, the following thought-provoking questions often arise:
>
> - whose standard
> - where are the sources of this "standard"
> - is the evidence of this "standard" oral-aural based

- is it not the case that each individual is a sort of "standard" or standard-bearer given the oral-aural background of African communities
- have we looked critically enough at the work on "standards" done by the now disbanded Language Boards?

These are some of the questions which could lead to furthering the debate on the "standard/non-standard" dichotomy described in this report. These are also issues to be addressed in future research.

CHAPTER 3: LANGUAGE USE PATTERNS IN BLACK URBAN COMMUNITIES

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The main aim of this report is to describe the influence which non-standard varieties have on the use of the standard language. As explained in the previous chapter, the genesis of language interference is language contact, and language contact situations occur frequently in South Africa. The multilingual nature of the country as a whole where language use patterns differ from region to region, demands of all its citizens some degree of multilingualism. This is especially true for most black South Africans, who, in order to be able to participate in the social and economic life of the country, must be communicatively competent in either English or Afrikaans in addition to their native mother tongues.

Prime examples of extreme language contact situations are the black urban residential areas (colloquially known as townships or locations). In most townships, the standard African languages occur side-by-side with emerging "non-standard" varieties (Calteaux, 1994:102; Khumalo, 1995:31) which play a vital role in these communities. The latter varieties include the so-called Tsotsitaal varieties, as well as the varieties of Iscamtho, and various slangs, jargons, registers and cants (argots) (Calteaux, 1994:102-168; Zungu, 1995:107-112). Residents of these townships are therefore of necessity often multilingual. Apart from competence in their own mother tongue, some knowledge of the other standard African languages, these non-standard varieties, as well as English (and to a limited degree Afrikaans), is often a prerequisite for participation in the social activities of these communities.

However, each language variety has its own function and domains of use. The standard language would for instance be most applicable to formal situations such as meetings, church services, classroom situations (where the African language is being taught as a subject), and less appropriate in informal situations such as amongst a group of friends socialising in a shebeen.

3.2 THE ORIGINS AND NATURE OF THE MULTILINGUALISM IN SOUTH AFRICAN TOWNSHIPS

The high levels of multilingualism in these township communities are mainly ascribed to urbanisation, inter-ethnic marriages, and the influx of foreigners (i.e. people hailing from neighbouring countries such as Mozambique) into these areas (cf. Calteaux, 1994:104; Zungu, 1995:108; Thipa, 1989:93). The mining industries were a big attraction to rural blacks who had heard of the opportunities awaiting them in the urban areas. The influence of migration and urbanisation on the use of standard Tswana was, for instance, noted as early as 1964 by Moloto (Malimabe, 1990:6) when he stated that "economic conditions force people to seek work in industrial centres, where they come into contact with people of different dialects. This mingling of people might influence the purity of standard Setswana."

Migration was also a factor in the development of urban varieties of Xhosa. In fact, Thipa (1989:26) indicates that it often complicates the distinction between urban and rural Xhosa due to the fact that speakers who have been to the cities to find employment, often return to the rural areas and continue using the language varieties to which they have become accustomed in the urban areas. This results in a blurring of the "boundaries" between rural and urban Xhosa.

The forced demarcation of areas within each township for speakers of a particular language, has also contributed to the multilingual nature of these communities, in that it initially fostered the maintenance of linguistic boundaries. Eventually however, it could not prevent language contact (Khumalo, 1995:93).

Over a period of time, the boundaries imposed by the policy of sectionalisation, have been broken down due to the fact that in "real life" people mix daily with each other in various situations. It is therefore impossible to maintain language purity under such diverse circumstances. Inter-ethnic marriages in these communities are a further catalyst for the breaking down of imposed linguistic barriers within these communities. A result of this breaking down of barriers, is that specific sections within the townships are no longer reserved for speakers of a specific language, leading to closer contact between speakers using different languages. (See Calteaux, 1994:102-105 for a more detailed discussion of these issues.)

The older residents of Daveyton state that the dominant role played by English in the education system has led to various Anglicisations (e.g. Zulu: **ngiyayilayka** instead of **ngiyayithanda**) (Khumalo, *op. cit.*).

3.3 FINDING A MEDIUM OF COMMUNICATION

Clearly a medium of communication has to be found within these multilingual situations described above. Although standard varieties fulfil this function in some township communities, "mixed" colloquial varieties have become *lingua francas* in most such township communities. This is not surprising given the prevailing level of language contact in these communities.

A distinguishing characteristic of these communities, is the high level of tolerance for each other's language. A belief that it is important to compromise one's language, as communication is what is being strived for, prevails. That people speak different languages is accepted as a fact of life, forcing one to be able to speak more than one language or to adapt one's own speech in order to accommodate another speaker. It was found in Tembisa and Daveyton, that although there was some trepidation over the fact that non-standard languages are becoming increasingly prevalent, there was also a very positive attitude towards the many languages spoken in the township. It was felt that the South African situation necessitates a knowledge of more than one language. "Democracy" requires this of each of us. (Calteaux, 1994:107)

A qualifying statement is perhaps called for here, as the research also indicated that certain ethnic groups are more willing to adapt their language to accommodate others, than other ethnic groups. For instance, Schuring (1985:97) found that the Nguni-speaking people

(especially the Zulus and Xhosas) were less accommodating than the Sotho-speakers. It is often the Sotho-speakers who end up sacrificing their languages in order to accommodate others. Schuring found that the Zulu-speakers around Pretoria preferred to maintain their Zulu, rather than learn Pretoria Sotho. (A similar sentiment was noted in Tembisa, by Calteaux in the an individual interview during the pilot study for her research.)

Various strategies are employed in order to be able to communicate with speakers of different languages in these settings. As will be indicated below, a particular language often dominates in a township and becomes the language chosen most often as medium of communication. Other strategies include codeswitching (often between an African language and English), or the choice of English as medium. The choice of a medium of communication in these townships, mainly depends on the relationship between the speakers, their linguistic competence, as well as the situation in which they find themselves. Some men may for instance choose to speak Tsotsitaal in the company of their friends, whereas in the company of females, they may prefer to use English. Other strategies include the use by each interlocutor of his/her mother tongue (i.e. the participants speak different standard languages), because although speakers are not always able to speak all the standard languages, they are usually able to understand them fairly well.

Common to all these language contact situations, however, is a commitment to tolerance of linguistic differences and accommodation of these differences.

3.4 DESCRIBING THE LANGUAGE VARIETIES WHICH OCCUR IN THESE MULTILINGUAL SETTINGS

A brief description of the language varieties which occur in the townships will enable an understanding of the language situation in these multilingual communities. Such an understanding will assist us in contextualising the language contact phenomena which will be discussed in the following chapters. A profile of each of these varieties will also assist in defining the non-standard varieties which have been referred to above, and will clarify the nature of each of these varieties in terms of their functioning in the township communities. The influence which the varieties have on the use of the standard language, will be discussed in subsequent chapters.

A township community can be divided into various subcultures, i.e. groups of individuals such as social, occupational, ethnic or racial groups, who share certain common attitudes, associations, behaviour patterns, and speech patterns (Maurer, 1981:1). An important feature of a subculture is, however, that it has certain cultural characteristics which differ from those of the macrosystem which constitutes the dominant culture in a specific community. The language varieties discussed below are mostly characteristic of certain subcultures in the community. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the varieties will be discussed according to their use patterns, i.e. by certain groups in the township communities, in certain domains, for certain functions. Examples of some of the varieties discussed here, occur as Appendix B.

3.4.1 Home language

The home language has traditionally been a standard language (and still is in the rural areas). Within the inter-ethnic marriages in urban areas, the home language may be that of the father or mother, although the mother's language often seems to be chosen as it is she who spends the most time with the children (Calteaux, 1994:108; Khumalo, 1995:123). In most cases, parents make a conscious decision on which language(s) they are going to use in the home.

Although there is a strong feeling that the standard home languages should be respected and preserved there are strong indications that the use of the mixed township languages (the BUV, Tsotsitaal and Iscamtho [see discussions below]) is spreading rapidly to the domain of the home (Calteaux, 1994:108). Dube (1992:74) in fact states that "a home language is understood to be a mixture of two or more languages used either simultaneously or interchangeably in a home situation". Khumalo (1995:123) sustains this argument by stating that inter-ethnic marriages are presently the order of the day, and that to be part of a family therefore implies a measure of bilingualism. From this she concludes that the home language is a non-standard variety and usually a combination of the mother and father's first languages. In some homes, English is used as the medium of communication.

As will be indicated later in this report, the use of languages other than the standard African languages, and of non-standard varieties in the home, has major repercussions for the continued use of the standard African languages, and especially for the teaching of the standard languages.

3.4.2 Colloquial language

Calteaux (1994:107) found that the term "colloquial language" was not familiar to the residents of Tembisa. This term is, however, often used by sociolinguists to refer to the urban *lingua franca,* (see discussion on the Black Urban Vernacular below).

3.4.3 English and Afrikaans

Indications are that English and Afrikaans play important roles in the townships, with English being preferred by Nguni-speaking people and mostly by the youth, while Afrikaans is preferred by Sotho-speaking people and mainly by older people (Calteaux, 1994:189; Mfusi, 1990:6). The negative attitude of township youths to Afrikaans is mainly attributed to the uprising of 1976 caused by the imposition of Afrikaans as the medium of instruction in all black schools. As a result of this negative attitude towards Afrikaans, English is beginning to dominate in many of the townships (Calteaux, 1994:189).

The use of **English** is seen as a status symbol, especially among the younger generations. It is seen as a symbol of upward mobility and is associated with higher economic status. Amongst the educated, it serves as a medium of communication in certain domains, for example in meetings and between educated speakers who speak different African languages. This status of English is confirmed by Ntshangase (1993:112) who found that none of the speakers in his matched-guise research who were speaking standard Zulu, Tsotsitaal, and Iscamtho, were seen

to be educated. Mfusi (1990:7) also indicates that in Soweto, English is increasingly used in the newly established areas such as Prestige Park in Diepkloof Extension, Selection Park in Pimville, and Protea North. This development has a remarkable impact on the sociolinguistic situation in Soweto, as social class distinction is becoming apparent with English being one of the salient status symbols. Khumalo (1995:96) also found that English is used in the newly established areas of Daveyton such as Boya's View and Turton.

English is also employed in the domain of work, especially when speaking to one's supervisor, and also in interaction with government officials. English (and Afrikaans) is often also employed in other public domains such as at soccer stadiums. In some instances, speakers will deliberately use English in these domains as the use of an African language would identify the speaker with uneducated rural life. The use of English in such situations is motivated by its status as a language of prestige, one which is associated with the "power arena" (Zungu, 1995:167).

English is, however, not only used in formal domains, but also functions as a home language for certain families. Many people prefer watch English television channels, and listen to English radio stations (for example Radio Bophuthatswana, Radio Metro and Channel 702). Those who have decided to send their children to English schools (and pre-schools) usually make a conscious effort to speak English in the home in order to help the children become more proficient in it.

Khumalo (1995:121,122) indicates that pupils (mainly university and college students) residing in Daveyton who attend English medium schools, use a variety in which English is the base language, and there is codeswitching to an African language. Their ability to codeswitch between these languages results from their proficiency in both (English is used in their education and African languages when they are outside the educational domains). In these cases, English is also used in the home, resulting in a gradual loss of the traditional home (or standard) language. Khumalo (1995:122) indicates, for instance, that these pupils find it difficult to read the black newspapers such as *Imvo Zabantsundu* (Xhosa) and *Ilanga laseNatal* (Zulu), as these newspapers employ standard languages as media of communication.

Interestingly, these pupils feel that they can no longer express themselves freely in an African language, and therefore prefer the use of English over the traditional African languages. English is also the medium of education in many schools.

Apart from being a status symbol, Calteaux (1994:190) found that in Tembisa, English is also favoured by people who find it difficult to express themselves in Zulu or Sotho, for example the Vendas and Shangaans. Similarly, it is also used as a medium of communication by people from neighbouring countries who do not speak a South Eastern Bantu language (such as a Sotho or Nguni language).

Although English therefore fulfils an important role as inter-group medium of communication in various townships (Mfusi, 1990:7, mentions this to be true in Soweto as well), it is not considered to be a *lingua franca* in these township situations due to a general lack of proficiency in English. At this stage, its function as status symbol still outweighs its use as a medium of communication.

Afrikaans on the other hand still features in some forms of Tsotsitaal and is used by some older people in the townships. Unlike in the townships around Johannesburg, Afrikaans is also still very prevalent in predominantly Sotho-speaking townships, for instance those around Pretoria. Evidence was also found that Afrikaans is to many people still a source of power as they use it to communicate with their supervisors in various work situations (cf. Schuring, 1995:7 in this regard). However, the negative feelings of the youth towards this language do not bode well for its continued use in the township areas (Calteaux, 1994:184).

3.4.4 Standard languages

Various standard languages are spoken in the South African townships. One of these languages usually dominates over the others in a particular township, often forming the base language (Matrix Language - see 6.7) of the Black Urban Vernacular (BUV) which functions as *lingua franca* in these communities (see discussion of BUV below). Calteaux (1994:185) indicates that in Tembisa, Zulu fulfils this role.

In the townships, the standard languages are used for the higher functions of language, such as in the domains of education, religion, and formal meetings. Zungu (1995:108) likewise indicates that the black speech community around Durban normally speak standard Zulu in formal domains. However, standard languages are also employed in the initial contact between people until they have established each other's mother tongues. A possible reason for the choice of a standard language in such a situation, is that during the initial contact the atmosphere may still be relatively formal. Once the participants get to know each other, however, a shift to a common standard language may occur, but in most cases the participants shift to a non-standard variety such as the BUV, Tsotsitaal, or Iscamtho.

An interesting, and in some ways alarming, development is the indications that the mixed non-standard languages are in the process of ousting the use of the standard languages in these formal domains. One of the results of inter-ethnic marriages, is for instance, that standard languages are no longer the norm as home languages. This has various repercussions (*inter alia* for education), as will become evident throughout this report. In many instances, pupils learn standard languages at school which differ from the (standard) language spoken in the home (Khumalo, 1995:44; Calteaux, 1994:108,109).

Standard languages have traditionally enjoyed the highest status of all the varieties spoken in the townships. The standard languages are regarded by the older generation as the carriers of their traditions and culture, and as such there is a strong feeling that these languages should be protected from external influence (Calteaux, 1994:185). This viewpoint seems to be changing, however, as the younger generation no longer holds the standard language in awe. A definite shift towards a preference for English can be noted amongst the youth. Adaptation of the standard language to meet the demands of modern society, forms the crux of much of this report.

3.4.5 Non-standard varieties

Non-standard varieties occur in most of the townships in South Africa and although they are becoming more generally used, there is still much aversion towards these varieties. Nevertheless, Khumalo (1995:113) mentions that a large part of the community in Daveyton have acknowledged these non-standard varieties as a powerful communication tool.

The non-standard varieties which will be mentioned in this report include, the so-called Black Urban Vernacular (or colloquial language), Fanakalo, Gang language, Slang, Tsotsitaal, Iscamtho, and Argot. Besides these varieties identified in Tembisa (Calteaux 1994), Khumalo (1995:113) mentions that in Daveyton, the non-standard varieties also include street-language (the equivalent of Mixed language in Tembisa), the language used by pupils who attend English medium schools, home language, and Isthathibe (no further information on the latter variety is provided).

Zungu (1995:108) mentions that the non-standard varieties most prominent around the Greater Durban area, are cants (argot), Tsotsitaal, slang and jargons. These varieties are spoken in informal settings such as at sports clubs and soccer stadiums, in shops, on public transport modes, in shebeens and taverns, etc.

3.4.5.1 Black Urban Vernacular

Typology

The term Black Urban Vernacular was coined by Calteaux (1994:191) from discussions on vernaculars and urban vernaculars by other sociolinguists. The term is used to refer to:

> the variety of speech commonly found in Black urban areas, which is used by most members of the urban speech community in varying degrees, to facilitate communication between speakers of different mother-tongues, and which usually contains elements from more than one language.

Origin and development

This variety (referred to as Mixed language in Tembisa - Calteaux, 1994:191; street language in Daveyton - Khumalo, 1995:117; and Pretoria Sotho in the townships around Pretoria - Schuring, 1985), occurs in many townships around South Africa. In fact, varieties with similar characteristics have also been reported as occurring in other African countries. Kashoki (1972); Epstein (1968) and Richardson (1963, 1961), for instance, describe an urban variety of Bemba, namely Town Bemba, used on the Copperbelt of Zambia, which displays similar characteristics to the South African BUV's. Schuring (1985:82) describes Pretoria Sotho as "the colloquial Sotho of the black residential areas of Pretoria" (*own translation*).

The arrival of rural blacks from different ethnic backgrounds in the urban areas, led to the need for a common medium of communication. Urbanisation is thus the main determining factor in the development of the BUV, due to that fact that people speaking different

languages come into contact with each other. The need to communicate in such situations, leads to the development of a common medium of communication in the form of a BUV.

Users

One of the main sources of the continued development of the BUV is the younger generation. Children need to communicate with each other in various spheres of life and thus develop a common medium of communication, the BUV, amongst themselves. Small children pick this variety up at crèche as they do not yet know the difference between their own home language and that of their friends, nor are they aware that there is a difference between the BUV and their standard home language. The following quote from Calteaux (1994:121) provides an example of the type of speech found amongst small children. A child sees a butterfly, turns to her mother and says: "**mama bona iyafufa**" 'mommy look at it flying'. The mother attempts to correct the use of the Sotho verb for 'flying', by pointing out that "**ayifufi, iyaphapha**", i.e. **-phapha** is the verb for 'flying' in Zulu (not **-fufa**). However, the child is firmly convinced that she is correct, because "**ecreche bathi iyafufa**" 'at the crèche they say **iyafufa**'. The child is not aware of the difference in language - to her the words are merely synonyms.

Inter-ethnic marriages are a catalyst in the development of the BUV, as this variety is increasingly being used in the home between parents who do not speak the same mother tongue (Calteaux, 1994:193). In fact, children are increasingly acquiring the BUV as their mother tongue (i.e. the language which they acquire first - usually from their parents).

The use of the BUV spreading to the domain of the home, and the implication that children are in the process of acquiring this "mixed" variety as a first language, means that as more and more generations are born into the township environment, it will become harder and harder to distinguish between native and non-native varieties of the BUV's (cf. also Kashoki, 1972:163). This in turn implies that ways have to be found to acknowledge this variety within the education system (see Chapter 10).

Linguistic nature

This variety is "mixed" in the sense that it consists of elements from more than one language (for this reason Khumalo, 1995:117 calls it a contact medium). In Tembisa, Calteaux (1994:194) found that the BUV is not a discrete variety but that it represents a spectrum of variation. The nature of the variety depends largely on the interlocutors. Two factors play a role, namely, (a) ethnic affinity, and (b) level of education. The BUV in Tembisa is therefore characterised by an African language (usually Zulu) as base language (Matrix Language - ML) with codeswitching mainly to English (as Embedded Language - EL) and sometimes to other African languages as well (see discussion under 6.7).

Linguistically, Pretoria Sotho is based on the Kgatla dialect of Tswana to which has been added a large number of words from Northern Sotho, and a few from Southern Sotho, as well as adoptives from Afrikaans and English (Malimabe, 1990:10).

Generally speaking, however, township residents resort to whatever they know about the other languages which are spoken in the township, in order to communicate with each other. The BUV thus reflects influence from the language varieties peculiar to each township. Therefore,

although the Tembisa BUV mainly consists of codeswitching between Zulu and English, it would not be unusual to find Afrikaans, Sotho, Tsotsitaal or Iscamtho words occurring in the BUV. Around Pretoria, the BUV mainly contains elements from Sotho (Tswana) and Afrikaans, and in Daveyton from Zulu, Ndebele and English (Khumalo, 1995:118). This indicates that regional differences within this variety must be acknowledged. (Examples of the different varieties of BUV appear in Appendix B.)

Adoption is a further linguistic process characteristic of the BUV. As will be indicated in later chapters, adopted words are often integrated (to various degrees) into the matrix language system. Indications are that level of education (or perhaps more accurately the level of competence in the embedded language) plays a significant role in the form of the BUV, in terms of the type of codeswitching which occurs (see Finlayson *et al.*, forthcoming).

Domains of use

The BUV is found in most settings within the township, especially in public places and where people are socialising and relaxing together. It is mainly used in informal situations (including the home), and in black-black interaction (i.e. also at places of work under informal circumstances). Its main function is to facilitate communication between interlocutors who do not share a common standard language. Malimabe (1990:12) indicates that the use of Pretoria Sotho implies intimacy in terms of group membership, and conveys solidarity between the members of the speech community. As such, the BUV often identifies someone as coming from a particular township (Malimabe, 1990:12; Calteaux, 1994:129).

As mentioned earlier, there is however evidence that the use of this variety is spreading to formal domains. One formal situation in which the BUV is sometimes used, is in the classroom. There was evidence in the Tembisa study (Calteaux, 1994:198), that some teachers use the BUV to explain the content of subjects to pupils when they are unable to understand this in English. Pupils themselves also use the BUV to communicate with each other outside the classroom. This use, however, often spills over into the classroom where it manifests in the use of the BUV in essays and oral work (Malimabe, 1990:11; Khumalo, 1995:119). (Cf. also the discussion in Chapter 8.)

Almost everyone in a township uses this variety in the settings described above: friends, family, young and old, colleagues, professionals, doctors, teachers, etc.

Functions and status

Apart from the "accommodating" function of the BUV mentioned above, use of this variety also functions as a mark of urbanisation and to indicate that the speaker is "city-wise". Khumalo (1995:119) mentions that this variety enables residents to keep up with innovations in their environment. Malimabe (1990:13) indicates that the use of the urban variety of Sotho (Pretoria Sotho) around Pretoria, became an issue of prestige among the people who had migrated to the urban areas (mainly in search for work in the mines on the Reef). The use of Pretoria Sotho was something which prevented them from being regarded as "country bumpkins". Many Northern Sothos and Tsongas even changed their surnames and adopted Afrikaans, Tswana or Zulu surnames in order to hide their ethnic affinity. The use of a colloquial variety such as Pretoria Sotho also assisted them in hiding their ethnic background.

The status accorded to this variety is lower than that of the standard African languages, but higher than that of Tsotsitaal and Iscamtho which are discussed under 3.4.5.6.

3.4.5.2 The case of Pretoria Tsonga and Urban Xhosa

These two varieties are not BUV's *per se*, but rather urban varieties of Tsonga and Xhosa which differ from the standard varieties of these languages due to modernisation and contact with other languages and varieties.

Mathumba (1993:15) indicates that an urban variety of Tsonga is found around Pretoria. This variety developed due to the fact that the Tsongas in Pretoria find themselves in a predominantly Sotho-speaking community where Pretoria Sotho is the variety most frequently used for communication. The influence of Pretoria Sotho on Tsonga has been so great that a variety which may be termed "**Pretoria Tsonga**" has evolved. Mathumba confirms that this variety too, is spreading its use into the realm of standard Tsonga. He includes this variety in his study of dialectal Tsonga influences on standard Tsonga.

The occurrence of an urban variety of Xhosa has already been alluded earlier. Thipa (1989:26) indicates that the main factors which can be cited as differences between **urban Xhosa** and **rural (standard) Xhosa**, are the following:

- urban Xhosa seems to show a greater tendency to borrow from English and Afrikaans than does rural Xhosa,
- urban Xhosa tends to be more "innovative" than rural Xhosa which tends to be rather conservative,
- as a result, urban Xhosa is subject to more rapid change than rural Xhosa,
- rural Xhosa is characteristic of speakers who have been least exposed to Western influences and experiences, and
- "red-blanketed" Xhosa speakers can be taken to be representative of rural Xhosa speakers.

(The terms rural and urban are used solely for the purpose of distinguishing between two distinct varieties of Xhosa, and are not intended to be derogatory in any way.)

Typical features of modernisation of the standard language, are discussed in the next four chapters.

3.4.5.3 Fanakalo

Although Fanakalo is typically a city phenomenon (i.e. it is learnt in the city and not really in rural areas) and does occur in some townships, it is only used to a very limited degree in these settings. It is mainly used in the presence of a white person and at places of work where it functions as a medium of communication between black workers and white supervisors. In these instances it is mainly used by older people, while the younger generation are opting for English in such situations.

Within the township it is sometimes used when people from neighbouring countries cannot communicate in the languages spoken in the particular township. In an attempt at communicating with non-English speaking people in the township, they mix the few Zulu words they know with English, which results in a form of Fanakalo (Calteaux, 1994:187). It therefore plays a role in facilitating communication between speakers who have no other common medium at their disposal.

However, Calteaux (1994:188) found a predominantly negative attitude towards the use of Fanakalo in Tembisa. This could partly be ascribed to the negative attitude towards Afrikaans which is a feature of Fanakalo, and partly to the fact that Fanakalo is a language of command and direction which is invariably associated with racialistic attitudes by more educated Africans (Ntshangase, 1993:116). According to Hanekom (1988:111) the low status of Fanakalo results from its origin (i.e. not belonging to any particular culture), its nature, (i.e. its simplified structure and insufficient vocabulary), and its functions (the limitedness thereof).

All indications are that Fanakalo will cease to be used and will most likely be replaced by English (Calteaux, 1994:189).

3.4.5.4 Gang language

Various types of gangs occur in township communities. Some are involved in criminal activities, but many are also involved in non-criminal activities such as soccer clubs, church groups, etc. Gangs can therefore be seen as groups of people who share common interests. In the case of criminal gangs these interests mainly concern criminal activities. (Different types of criminal activities can also be differentiated, see Calteaux, 1994:113.) Members of the various criminal gangs can usually be distinguished by a common dress sense.

The language used in a gang largely depends on the activities in which that group is involved. If it is a group of university students one could expect to find an upper class (more or less standard) type of language (probably with a lot of codeswitching to English) being spoken. In church groups and sports clubs one could also expect to find the BUV being used (as well as the register applicable to the topics being discussed), whereas in criminal groups, a more secretive language (such as Tsotsitaal or Iscamtho) will be employed. Zungu (1995) provides many examples of the choice of particular codes and registers in particular domains.

Criminal varieties are often brought into the townships by prisoners who have been released from jail and who bring with them the type of language which they learnt whilst incarcerated. This type of language develops in prisons amongst prison gangs such as the "Big Five", "27's", "28's", etc.

Calteaux (1994:114) indicates that the criminal gangs do not use their highly secretive varieties all the time, but adapt their language use to the situation in which they find themselves. When interacting with friends outside their criminal activities, they may for instance employ a less secretive form of Tsotsitaal - one which is more readily understood by non-gang members. This deliberate use of secretive terms under certain situations is accurately described by Goyvaerts (1988:233) in his definition of Indoubil (a language used by the youths in Bukavu [Zaire] as a means of identification and also to transcend ethnic

boundaries) when he states that this variety can best be referred to as a jargon that fails to be understood **by design**, rather than **by default,** as might be the case with professional jargons.

3.4.5.5 Slang

Slang is a style of language use which has been adopted from Black American English, as picked up from television and films, by certain subcultures within the community. Their main reason for using slang, is to change their image because they want to be seen as black Americans or African Americans, i.e. they do not want to sound like blacks when they are talking. Part of this change in image, is a change in appearance, for example the type of clothing worn and hairstyles, as well as behavioural changes in terms of, for example, excessive generosity (possibly as a mark of economic welfare).

This variety is very similar to Black American Slang in that it is non-standard English in which some words are shortened by eliding the final syllable, while other words are lengthened. There is also a change in tone. This African American image is portrayed by codeswitching between these slang words and expressions, and an African language. (See Calteaux, 1994:115-118 for further details.)

3.4.5.6 Tsotsitaal and Iscamtho

The relationship between Tsotsitaal and Iscamtho

Tsotsitaal is also known as Flytaal (Flaaitaal) (from Eng. '[to] fly' and Afr. *taal* 'language') which has the connotation (according to Ntshangase, 1993:8) that the speaker of this language is a modern, progressive person who can see the world and things from above, i.e. from a better angle. Childs (1992:6) explains, however, that the name Flaaitaal (or Flytaal) was coined on the basis of a pun with Sotho **tsêtsê** 'fly'. It is also possible that the name ***Tsotsi*taal** is likewise derived from this Sotho noun. Tsotsitaal is also known as *isiLovasi* in the Durban area (Zungu, 1995:110).

Iscamtho, on the other hand, is derived from the (Zulu) verb **-qamutha** or **-qamunda** 'to talk volubly or maintain a constant flow of language', and is known to its speakers as *Iringas* (from Eng. 'ring' as in the ring of a telephone), *Itaal* (from Afr. *taal* i.e. 'language'), *Istsotsi* (from **tsotsi** meaning 'a thief' or generally 'a young city slick man') or *Isjita* (from **umjita** 'young man') (Ntshangase, 1993:1).

There has been much debate in the past surrounding the relationship between these two language varieties. Various writers have regarded them as being identical (Msimang, 1987; Mfenyana, 1977). However, Ntshangase (1993) makes a strong case for these two varieties to be seen as similar but not identical, due to different origins.

Calteaux (1994) also found that Tsotsitaal and Iscamtho are similar varieties despite various different names given to them, as well as numerous contradictions and confusion in the literature concerning these varieties. Some of this confusion stems from the fact that "Tsotsitaal" is often used by speakers to refer both to varieties with Afrikaans, and to varieties

with an African language as ML. Iscamtho, on the other hand, refers only to varieties with an African language as ML.

On linguistic grounds, (i.e. without taking the origins of Tsotsitaal vs. Iscamtho into consideration, Slabbert and Myers-Scotton argue in a recent article (forthcoming), that Tsotsitaal is constituted as a codeswitching variety, with a non-standard dialect of Afrikaans as Matrix Language (ML). Afrikaans therefore supplies the morphosyntactic frame of mixed constituents. Into these frames, content elements from other languages (called Embedded Languages [ELs]) are inserted, as well as some novel words with no known origins. Although there may be a good deal of diversity in the content elements in Tsotsitaal (which may come from either the Matrix Language or the Embedded Languages), Tsotsitaal is thus very uniform in how it is structured from the morphosyntactic point of view.

A similar argument is made for Iscamtho, namely that it too is a codeswitching variety, but with an African language as ML. The morphosyntactic frame of Iscamtho therefore comes from an African language, in a very predictable way. Content elements from other languages (ELs) are inserted into these frames. Sometimes, these content elements are the same as those found in Tsotsitaal, i.e. there are some Afrikaans nouns or verbs or the same content morphemes of unknown origin as those which occur in Tsotsitaal.

This may explain why some scholars believe that Iscamtho developed from Tsotsitaal. Yet, these two varieties are not structurally "the same", except in the sense that they both have predictable morphosyntactic structures (i.e. Afrikaans uniformly supplies the morphosyntactic frame of Tsotsitaal as an African language does for Iscamtho).

It is as yet uncertain whether the research by Slabbert and Myers-Scotton clarifies beyond a doubt that "Tsotsitaal" only refers to varieties with Afrikaans as ML, and "Iscamtho" only to varieties with an African language as ML. The research conducted by Calteaux (1994) in Tembisa, indicated that "Tsotsitaal" is understood by its speakers to refer to varieties based on Afrikaans as well as varieties based on an African language. Iscamtho in Tembisa, was found to have entirely different characteristics to that spoken in Soweto, and will be dealt with separately below.

Calteaux's (1994) research revealed that much of the confusion surrounding Tsotsitaal and Iscamtho could be clarified by acknowledging social and regional variation within each. As mentioned earlier, varieties of Tsotsitaal with Afrikaans, Zulu or a Sotho language as base (or matrix) language, can be distinguished. This explains regional differences in the use of Tsotsitaal, for example that the Tsotsitaal variety spoken around Pretoria has Afrikaans as matrix language (Schuring, 1981:122), whereas in Tembisa a variety based on Afrikaans, as well as one based on Zulu, were found (Calteaux, 1994:219,220). (See also Khumalo, 1995:115.) Lexical and semantic differences also occur in the Tsotsitaal and Iscamtho used by speakers from different townships (Calteaux, 1994:153; Khumalo, 1995:67).

Social variation within these varieties must also be acknowledged. For instance, the variety of Tsotsitaal used by older people and people who do not form part of the criminal subculture of the community, is less secretive and functions almost as a *lingua franca* between people who do not share a common medium of communication. On the other hand, the criminal subculture in the township communities employs a form of Tsotsitaal which is marked by exclusivity, i.e.

each criminal gang develops its own form of Tsotsitaal or Iscamtho for the purpose of secrecy. A **common form** of Tsotsitaal or Iscamtho and a **slang form** therefore have to be differentiated. This phenomenon may also be seen as a continuum with everyday Tsotsitaal terms known to everyone in the township (e.g. greetings) occupying the one end of the scale, and completely secret terms (in which use has been made of semantic shift or changes in syllable order to disguise meaning) occupying the other.

Currently it is still uncertain whether social variation exists in Iscamtho as it is spoken in, for instance, Soweto. Further research into this issue, as well as comparative linguistic analyses, is needed to clarify the exact relationship between African language-based Tsotsitaal and Iscamtho. The social variation noted for African language-based Tsotsitaal and not for Iscamtho, may indicate that the difference between Tsotsitaal and Iscamtho set out by Slabbert and Myers-Scotton (i.e. as being only a difference in ML), might be an over-simplification of the relationship between these two varieties. Further research is needed to clarify this. (Further differences and similarities between Tsotsitaal and Iscamtho are extensively dealt with by Calteaux in her subreport, 1994:129-168; 200-241.)

Origin and development

Various theories regarding the origin and development of these varieties have been put forward by scholars over the years. A summary of these is presented in Calteaux (1994:205-214) and will not be repeated here. Suffice to say that both varieties developed from criminal argots and gradually became more commonly used in the townships. Ntshangase (1993:44-80) provides a lengthy exposition of their origin and development, indicating that Iscamtho developed from an argot known as *Shalambombo* which was first spoken by the *Amalaita* gangs around Durban in the 1920s. After 1960 when the name was changed to *Iscamtho*, it was used mainly by young men belonging to the criminal gangs in Orlando, Pimville and the Moroka Emergency Camp.

Tsotsitaal, on the other hand, developed from an argot known as *Flaaitaal* which was spoken by the criminal gangs in the free-hold townships of the Western Areas of Johannesburg from whence it too spread and became used by youths who were known as *tsotsis* when that term had the connotations of "slick and urban".

Linguistic nature

Linguistically, the main difference between Iscamtho and African language-based Tsotsitaal on the one hand, and Afrikaans-based Tsotsitaal on the other, lies in the matrix language (ML) as discussed above. In the case of Soweto Iscamtho the ML can be Zulu or Southern Sotho (Ntshangase, 1993:1, 22), in Tembisa the ML of African language-based Tsotsitaal is Zulu, and in Afrikaans-based Tsotsitaal it is Afrikaans. As noted earlier, the latter is a non-standard variety of Afrikaans referred to by Mfenyana (1977:50) as the "Black Afrikaans Vernacular" which he states is similar to Coloured Afrikaans.

The lexicons of Tsotsitaal and Iscamtho (Slabbert and Myers-Scotton indicate that these overlap to a certain extent) are made up of various expressions with different degrees of secrecy. This includes many of the lexical items found in prison gangs, deliberate use of semantic shift in order to obscure the meanings of words or phrases, the use of polysemous

words and phrases, and other deliberate changes (syllabic and morphemic) aimed at rendering the lexical items incomprehensible. There are strong links between the slang form of Tsotsitaal and Iscamtho and prison registers, and the words coined in prison often find their way into the townships via ex-prisoners who have been released from jail (Zungu, 1995:118). In fact, Zungu indicates that different levels of comprehension even exist in the prison register, with some words only understood by the prisoners themselves, some only by the prison gangs, and some by both prisoners and prison staff. Malimabe (1990:15) indicates that the coining of words and expressions to suit the needs of the speakers, leads to the view by many non-speakers that these varieties, are "just a lot of jargon".

Schuring (1981:129) correctly states that the lexicon of Tsotsitaal is continually changing due to the speakers' desire to keep the language as "fresh" or "secret" as possible. To put it differently, Tsotsitaal "moves with the times" (Khumalo, 1995:114). There is also a process at work during which words and expressions which were at one stage highly secretive, become commonly known and understood in the community.

Zungu (1995:110) mentions that words which are peculiar to certain domains (also jargon) often become used outside those domains and then take on the character of slang expressions, for example the term **iskizo** meaning 'Schizophrenia', has become widely used in Zulu slang to refer to a person who has an unpredictable character. There is a lot of overlap between cant, jargon, Tsotsitaal, and slang. Once a secret expression is known by the entire speech community, it ceases to be ambiguous and becomes slang. Once a slang expression has received wide recognition, it ceases to be slang and becomes a standard expression.

Linguistic analyses of Iscamtho and Tsotsitaal should be undertaken in order for the underlying linguistic processes to be ascertained. It might well be the case as with Indoubil (Goyvaerts, 1988:232,233), that the above-mentioned manipulations are not systematic, and that these varieties can therefore not be called "secret languages" at all. Such analyses should also shed more light on the above-mentioned theory of a collection of lexical items which are code-switched into different ML's depending on the domain of use (including the setting, participants and the topic under discussion). The main context in which these varieties serve the purpose of secrecy, is where the participants may be discussing matters which are illegal, or taboo.

Users

Further features which characterise these varieties, are that they are mostly used by men (young men, known as *(a)magents*, prefer Iscamtho and African language-based Tsotsitaal, whereas older men still speak Afrikaans-based Tsotsitaal). Although women sometimes use it, and usually understand what is being said, it is only a certain type of woman who would use Tsotsitaal - usually one of low repute, or women who work in shebeens. There are indications, however, that younger girls are also starting to employ Tsotsitaal/Iscamtho more freely, and often create their own terms (Calteaux, 1994:161).

The use of Tsotsitaal by youngsters (teenagers) is confirmed by Malimabe (1990:15) who found that the speech of school boys contained many exaggerated expressions when they were in mixed company in an attempt to impress the girls with their knowledge of and familiarity with urban life.

The older men who speak Afrikaans-based Tsotsitaal mainly grew up in the areas of Sofiatown or Pretoria (Childs, 1992:8). Among the older people, however, Tsotsitaal (presumably the Afrikaans-based form with which they are familiar) still has very negative connotations. The younger generation, on the other hand, is beginning to employ African language-based Tsotsitaal and Iscamtho freely as means of communicating, cutting across the boundaries of socio-economic class or educational background (cf. Slabbert, 1994:35; Ntshangase, 1993:97; Calteaux, 1994:149; Ngwenya, 1992:98; Khumalo, 1995:114). Tsotsitaal is in fact also used as a medium of communication between older and younger males (Calteaux, 1994:232). However, the slang (secretive) forms of Tsotsitaal are mostly used by young men.

Domains of use

The settings in which Tsotsitaal and Iscamtho are used are informal situations, for instance in shebeens and stokvels, in the street, at social gatherings, at soccer matches, in shops, on public transport, etc. As indicated earlier, some forms of Tsotsitaal and Iscamtho are also spoken in prisons.

As with the use of the BUV, there are indications that the use of "Tsotsitaal" is spreading to the more formal domains such as education (Ntshangase, 1993:96; Khumalo, 1995:114). There is evidence, for instance, that teachers use this type of language to explain concepts to pupils, and that the range of topics which can be discussed in these varieties is thus increasing. These varieties are also used on university campuses (Khumalo, 1995:45). In Tembisa, Zulu-based Tsotsitaal is used in the home between fathers and their sons, and Ntshangase (1993) indicates that Soweto Iscamtho is also starting to be used in the home. As mentioned earlier, the consequences of the use of these varieties in the home and schools, for education and for the future of the standard languages, are serious.

The use of Tsotsitaal and Iscamtho in print (literature) has catapulted these varieties out of the exclusively "spoken" domain into that of writing as well. An example is a novel by M.M. Masondo, entitled **Iphisi Nezinyoka** (Khumalo, 1995:68).

Functions

Both Tsotsitaal (Afrikaans- and Zulu-based) and Iscamtho represent urbanism, slickness, progressiveness, street-wiseness and modernity (Ntshangase, 1993:18). Childs (1992:8) adds that both these varieties serve "unifying" and "separatist" functions (as defined by Garvin & Mathiot, 1956) for their speakers. The separatist functions marks the speakers as urban, non-rural, hip, sophisticated, while the unifying function serves to provide a sense of identity to the speakers of these varieties. These varieties therefore function as both inter-group and intra-group communication media. These functions respectively link up with the common and slang subvarieties distinguished earlier. The unifying function can thus be attributed to the common subvariety while the separatist function is typical of the slang subvariety. Indications are, however, that this unifying or inter-group function is a later development in the use of these varieties. This function features not only in communication with non-Tsotsitaal speakers, but also between Tsotsitaal speakers (*amagents*) belonging to different ethnic groups as well as hailing from different areas.

These two functions also relate to what Giles *et al.* (1977) call "convergence" and "divergence" in their speech accommodation theory. (See also Calteaux, 1994:199). Ntshangase (1993:94) explains that adults who use Soweto Iscamtho when speaking to teenagers, can be seen as negotiating social relations with them (this can for instance ensure that one is not attacked). The middle class can also use this variety to the underclasses to negotiate solidarity. On the other hand, adults can insist on using standard Zulu, thus alienating youngsters, or the middle class can insist on using English, thus alienating the underclasses. For these reasons, the political slogans of the ANC, PAC, and AZAPO are sometimes communicated through the medium of Soweto Iscamtho (Ntshangase, 1993:119).

It is perhaps interesting to note that ethnic divisions are beginning to be broken down in Soweto (Ntshangase, 1993:39), while the community is becoming more conscious of differences in social class.

Status

Iscamtho and Tsotsitaal are socially stigmatised by speakers of standard Zulu and educators and referred to as "bad Zulu, Sotho, etc.". These varieties therefore have low prestige in the community as a whole, mainly also because they are associated with criminality. However, for the speakers of these varieties, they have a covert prestige in the sense that they are highly thought of within the in-group. It seems therefore, that an in-group and an out-group status needs to be distinguished for these varieties, and furthermore, that the common (colloquial) subvariety is generally more acceptable to the community than the slang subvariety.

The fact that the use of these varieties is spreading to most informal domains and even into certain formal domains, indicates that they are fast gaining larger acceptability within the community. Khumalo (1995:116) confirms that such a shift has taken place in Daveyton as well.

Typology

Based on the fact that these varieties distinguish linguistic similarities, originated as (criminal) argots, and are being used colloquially these days, Calteaux (1994:264-270) concludes that Tsotsitaal and Iscamtho are varieties of the same type of language, namely what she tentatively terms *Colloquialised argots*. The discussion on Argot below, will shed more light on the reasoning behind this typology.

Note that these language use patterns are called language varieties in this report, on the basis of a sociolinguistic definition, i.e. based on their domains of use (setting, participants, topic), function, status, and linguistic features (the fact that they are not mutually intelligible). However, from a purely linguistic point of view, they may be considered codeswitching varieties (see discussion of Slabbert and Myers-Scotton's theories earlier), and should therefore not be referred to as language varieties. At this stage, it is not yet certain how these "varieties" will be typologised by Slabbert and Myers-Scotton.

3.4.5.7 Argot

The Tsotsitaal and Iscamtho varieties discussed above are examples of what is commonly known as **cant** or **argot**, i.e. those specialised varieties which lie furthest from the "standard" end of the language continuum and which are used when the purpose is to be secretive or deceive. The main features which cause them to be classified as argot's, are that they mark a person's membership to a group, and ensure secrecy when performing a particular activity (Calteaux, 1994:241).

However, it is mainly the criminal subcultures (i.e. professional criminals not merely deviant members of the dominant culture) in a community whose language use is referred to as an argot. For this reason, only Tsotsitaal and Iscamtho can be called argots and furthermore, it is mainly the forms of these varieties (the slang subvarieties) which are used by the criminal gangs operating in the townships, which qualify to be called argots. (See Calteaux, 1994:242 for a detailed exposition of this issue.)

Research has shown that a great deal of codeswitching takes place during the use of an argot. Argot words are sometimes of unknown origin, but are often distortions of everyday or common words which have been given a special meaning. Secret names for numbers are especially common due to their role in financial transactions (cf. Schuring's exposition of the numerical system in Afrikaans-based Tsotsitaal, 1979:64-70). The most notable kinds of criminal argot or "speech disguise" (as it is sometimes referred to), are those utterances which are totally or partially unintelligible to the outsider because of distinctive sounds, grammar or vocabulary. A great deal of argot also occurs which appears to be in ordinary language, though in fact the utterances have a special meaning. (See Calteaux, 1994:242,243.)

The processes involved in the use of Tsotsitaal and Iscamtho as argots, are perhaps best summarised by Maurer (1981:11) when he states that "people have a tendency to code-switch - automatically alter their speech patterns - when going from one social role or situation to another...". Thus, "when a professional criminal converses with a member of the dominant culture he avoids argot and, insofar as he is able, speaks in the social dialect dictated by the social frame in which he finds himself". The use of a common form of Tsotsitaal in social interaction, and the switch to a slang form when involved in criminal activities, as mentioned above, correlates with these statements by Maurer.

A further characteristic of these argots is as Maurer (1981:37) puts it: "..many of the terms in this [his argot] glossary are familiar in the dominant culture. This is due to the gradual diffusion of the criminal subcultures and their exploitation in fiction and motion pictures... In many cases, argot words well known in the dominant culture are replaced by others in the subculture."

Mfusi (1990:11) indicates that similar processes are at work in Soweto Zulu Slang where a wealth of words which originated as argot, have become widely accepted and freely used as a mode of expression. The same holds true for Tsotsitaal and Iscamtho (Calteaux, 1994:243). Certain Tsotsitaal greetings and expressions such as "*Heita, my bra*", and "*Sharp!*" are good examples of this. Slabbert (1994:38) in describing Tsotsitaal, speaks of a usage continuum on which "greetings or single words [have] little secretive value", but closer to the opposite end

of the usage continuum, one could expect to find words and expressions with a much higher secretive value. (Cf. also discussion earlier under 3.4.5.6: linguistic nature.)

These processes ensure that these argots are continually expanding as youngsters keep coining new words and expressions to replace those which have become common knowledge.

3.4.5.8 Tembisa Iscamtho

In Tembisa, a variety (which was called Iscamtho by the respondents) was recorded which had rather different characteristics to the variety of Iscamtho occurring in Soweto (described above). The Tembisa variety of Iscamtho is typologised as a *social dialect of Zulu* and not as a colloquialised argot (Calteaux, 1994:271), as it is to a large extent mutually intelligible with Zulu. It is furthermore an age-graded phenomenon in that it is mainly spoken by young men, and is not associated with crime as is the case with Tsotsitaal and Iscamtho (see discussion above). It also fulfils a different function to the above-mentioned varieties in that it is specifically used to convince someone of something, for example, to convince a girl that one loves her, to profess one's innocence, or to convince someone to buy certain cheap merchandise from one. A distinguishing feature of this variety, is the high tempo at which speech occurs. This is specifically employed as an aid in this variety's function of convincing. (For a more detailed exposition of Tembisa Iscamtho see Calteaux, 1994:129-148.)

3.5 THE IMPACT OF LANGUAGE CONTACT

The background sketched above provides a good picture of the language use patterns in urban black communities. The question which remains, however, is "What is the impact of these language use patterns on the use of the 'standard' languages?" - although these language use patterns clearly also have implications for the community. The remainder of this report will deal mainly with this issue.

It has been alluded in several instances above, that the impact of these language contact situations has the most severe consequences for the younger generations, the children. Language acquisition by these children is severely hampered by the use of non-standard varieties in their environment. The result is that these children can no longer distinguish between correct and incorrect usage of the standard language. This obviously also has serious consequences for the teaching of the standard languages and for the future of these languages. A dichotomy exists in these communities in that there is a great deal of concern over the fact that the non-standard varieties are "killing" the home languages. At the same time, however, there is also an understanding that non-standard varieties are essential to the functioning of the community, are bringing people closer together, and are even enriching the vocabulary of the standard languages. Or, as one person put it: "Language contact is an advantage because we learn to speak other African languages" (Khumalo, 1995:49-53,100).

The influence which these non-standard varieties have on the use of the standard language, manifests in various ways. Apart from semantic changes, interference also takes place on the phonetic, phonological, morphological and even syntactic level. These manifestations of interference will be dealt with in detail in the following chapters, after which the implications

of these non-standard varieties in terms of the situation in the schools, language planning, and education, will be discussed.

3.6 SOCIOLINGUISTIC PROFILES OF THE LINGUISTIC VARIETIES OCCURRING IN A TYPICAL BLACK URBAN SPEECH COMMUNITY

The following tables, taken from Calteaux (1994:245-252), present a profile of the sociolinguistic features of the main linguistic varieties which have been identified as occurring in black urban speech communities, and were discussed above. Where applicable, the profiles are presented according to seven criteria employed in her subreport to differentiate between the varieties. These are:

1. Origin and development
2. Linguistic make-up
3. Variation
4. Setting
5. Interlocutors
6. Function
7. Status

The profiles on English, Afrikaans, and Standard language, however, only cover the last four criteria as the first three have little implication for the use of these varieties in the township situation. For practical reasons, Table 3.6.1 presents the profiles for English, Afrikaans, Standard African languages, Fanakalo and Black Urban Vernacular and Table 3.6.2 those for Soweto Iscamtho, Afrikaans-based Tsotsitaal, Zulu-based Tsotsitaal, Tembisa Iscamtho and Soweto Zulu Slang. Although these profiles were developed based on the language situation in Tembisa, they may be generalised to other townships as well. However, in the latter case, some adaptation to fit the specific situation will be required.

TABLE 3.6.1: SOCIOLINGUISTIC PROFILES FOR ENGLISH, AFRIKAANS, STANDARD LANGUAGE, FANAKALO AND BLACK URBAN VERNACULAR

CRITERIA	ENGLISH	AFRIKAANS	STANDARD AFRICAN LANGUAGES	FANAKALO	BLACK URBAN VERNACULAR
1. Origin and development				• developed as medium of communication in labour situation	• developed in language contact situation due to urbanisation
2. Linguistic make-up				• hybrid of Zulu, English, Afrikaans - few phonological, morphological, syntactic characteristics of African languages • sharply reduced structure and vocabulary (typical of pidgin language)	• consists of a base language with a spectrum of variation • takes lexicon from languages spoken in the speech community • characterised by code-switching, code-mixing and borrowing

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CRITERIA	ENGLISH	AFRIKAANS	STANDARD AFRICAN LANGUAGES	FANAKALO	BLACK URBAN VERNACULAR
3. Variation				• none mentioned	• **regional variation:** differs from township to township • **social variation:** - in Tembisa varies according to interlocutors - depends on their ethnic affiliation and proficiency • further social variation probable but unknown
4. Setting	• used in formal domains	• used in formal domains	• used in formal domains: - education, religion, formal meetings, some homes	• mainly used outside township • used in work environment: - mines, factories, domestic labour situations	• used in informal domains: - work, public transport, taverns, shebeens, shops • also used in certain formal domains: - political rallies, education (in- and outside classrooms)

CRITERIA	ENGLISH	AFRIKAANS	STANDARD AFRICAN LANGUAGES	FANAKALO	BLACK URBAN VERNACULAR
5. Interlocutors	• used by middle class blacks • used by younger generation • used by Nguni-speaking people	• used by older people • used by Sotho-speaking people	• used mainly by older people in most domains of their lives • used by youngsters in formal settings	• used mainly between black employees and white supervisors • at times used between blacks when no other common medium is available • used by some older people	• used by broad population in township: - older and younger generations, males and females, professionals and less well-educated
6. Function	• not lingua franca in township • official status and function • medium of wider communication (across township boundaries)	• language of (institutional) power	• used for higher functions in formal domains • medium of communication • official status and function • dominant standard language forms base (matrix) language of Black urban vernacular	• lingua franca in labour situations • no well-developed expressive function • weak communicative function	• medium of communication in township: - functions as lingua franca • convergent and unifying function

CRITERIA	ENGLISH	AFRIKAANS	STANDARD AFRICAN LANGUAGES	FANAKALO	BLACK URBAN VERNACULAR
7. Status	• high status • symbol of upward social mobility	• low status amongst youngsters • high status amongst older generation	• high status amongst older generation • youth losing high regard for standard African languages • some standard languages losing status due to political situation	• very low status	• lower status than standard African languages but higher than Tsotsitaal and Iscamtho • strong sense of tolerance and accommodation of all linguistic differences

TABLE 3.6.2: SOCIOLINGUISTIC PROFILES FOR SOWETO ISCAMTHO, AFRIKAANS-BASED TSOTSITAAL, ZULU-BASED TSOTSITAAL, TEMBISA ISCAMTHO AND SOWETO ZULU SLANG

CRITERIA	SOWETO ISCAMTHO	AFRIKAANS-BASED TSOTSITAAL	ZULU-BASED TSOTSITAAL	TEMBISA ISCAMTHO	SOWETO ZULU SLANG
1. Origin and development	• developed from Nguni-based argot	• developed from Afrikaans-based argot • developed due to urbanisation	• developed from Nguni-based argot • developed due to urbanisation	• developed due to urbanisation	• developed through contact between Zulu-based argot and Afrikaans-based argot

CRITERIA	SOWETO ISCAMTHO	AFRIKAANS-BASED TSOTSITAAL	ZULU-BASED TSOTSITAAL	TEMBISA ISCAMTHO	SOWETO ZULU SLANG
2. Linguistic make-up	• base (matrix) language is an African language (either Zulu or Southern Sotho in Soweto) • Zulu-based Iscamtho in Soweto takes lexicon from Zulu, and to lesser extent from English, Afrikaans, other African languages • codeswitching, code-mixing, borrowing and semantic shift play an important role • lexical items from criminal argots occur	• base (matrix) language is non-standard Afrikaans • hybrid Afrikaans in form • lexicon is taken from Afrikaans - many words are unintelligible • some lexical items are taken from African languages • lexicon is continually changing	• base (matrix) language is an African language (Zulu in Tembisa) • lexicon taken mostly from Zulu, Afrikaans, and to lesser extent from English and other African languages • many Afrikaans-based Tsotsitaal words and expressions occur • many lexical items are unintelligible • lexicon is continually changing • codeswitching, code-mixing, borrowing and semantic shift play important roles	• base (matrix) language is an African language (Zulu in Tembisa) • lexicon is taken from Zulu and to a lesser extent from English, Afrikaans-based Tsotsitaal, and Afrikaans • innovation in lexicon • many lexical items are unintelligible	• neither Zulu nor Sotho - fabricated new variety • examples given show Zulu or Sotho base (matrix) language • Zulu-based variety takes lexicon from Zulu, English, Afrikaans and other African languages • some lexical items taken from Afrikaans-based Tsotsitaal

CRITERIA	SOWETO ISCAMTHO	AFRIKAANS-BASED TSOTSITAAL	ZULU-BASED TSOTSITAAL	TEMBISA ISCAMTHO	SOWETO ZULU SLANG
3. Variation	• **regional variation:** - can be based on other African languages - in Soweto a Zulu variety and a Southern Sotho variety occur • **social variation:** - unknown	• **regional variation:** - unknown • **social variation:** - youth groups use subforms	• **regional variation:** - varies from township to township (lexical differences) • **social variation:** - different forms are used by older and younger generations • criminal gangs create own subforms of slang subvariety • Punks and Hippies have own distinctive subvariety (in Tembisa)	• **regional variation:** - varies from township to township - Nguni- and Sotho-based varieties exist • **social variation:** - distinctive character when used for proposing	• **regional variation:** - Zulu variety and Sotho variety occur • **social variation:** - not mentioned

CRITERIA	SOWETO ISCAMTHO	AFRIKAANS-BASED TSOTSITAAL	ZULU-BASED TSOTSITAAL	TEMBISA ISCAMTHO	SOWETO ZULU SLANG
4. Setting	• crime-ridden areas • less affluent households • informal settings: - shebeens, stokvels, street • starting to spread to formal domains: - education (inside classroom), home, print	• informal domains: - home, amongst friends, social gatherings, outside classroom, in relationships • older people use it in Jazz clubs and other societies • starting to be used in formal domains: - literature, magazines	• informal domains: - home, social situations, friends, socialising, street, sports clubs, shops, public transport, relationships • spreading to formal domains: - inside classroom, radio	• informal domains: - socialising, taverns, shebeens, home, (same as Zulu-based Tsotsitaal) • jails	• informal domains: - street, shebeens, socialising

CRITERIA	SOWETO ISCAMTHO	AFRIKAANS-BASED TSOTSITAAL	ZULU-BASED TSOTSITAAL	TEMBISA ISCAMTHO	SOWETO ZULU SLANG
5. Interlocutors	• predominantly young working-class males • starting to be used by females and middle-class males	• used by older and younger people • older people use it more covertly • women use and understand it • speakers are fun-loving, "clever", irresponsible, "naughty"	• used by older and younger men • used by some women • some subforms are spoken by criminals, others by non-criminals (all part of younger generation) • more of a criminal element in users of Zulu-based Tsotsitaal in Tembisa, than users of Tembisa Iscamtho • not all young men and women use it	• mainly used by youngsters • used by some women (more men) • not used by criminals • links to old quasi-criminal gangs (e.g. 26 gang: "glibness of tongue")	• used by male youths • used by some females • users exhibit lower class status in terms of income and education

CRITERIA	SOWETO ISCAMTHO	AFRIKAANS-BASED TSOTSITAAL	ZULU-BASED TSOTSITAAL	TEMBISA ISCAMTHO	SOWETO ZULU SLANG
6. Function	• socio-symbolic value: - urbaneness, slick, progressive, modern • separatist function: - marks group as urban, sophisticated (divergent language) • associations with criminality • no longer limited to crime-related domains: - changed function from intra- to inter-group language (still restricted to younger generation) • not yet lingua franca • used to negotiate social relations between interlocutors: - convergent language	• same as for Zulu-based Tsotsitaal	• communication: - inter-group function - *colloquial form* • accommodation: - inter-group function - *colloquial form* • identification: - marks users as urban, modern, "clever", sophisticated - *slang form* • lingua franca function - medium of communication between speakers from different ethnic groups • secrecy or exclusive function • socialising function: - teaches users to be township-wise	• convincing: - proposing, selling, tricking, proclaiming innocence • separatist function: - marks users as urban, modern, "clever", street-wise etc.	• secrecy, prestige, lexical avoidance • separatist function: - marks users as modern, urban, etc. • divergent language - marks users as a subculture • convergent language - transcends ethnicity

CRITERIA	SOWETO ISCAMTHO	AFRIKAANS-BASED TSOTSITAAL	ZULU-BASED TSOTSITAAL	TEMBISA ISCAMTHO	SOWETO ZULU SLANG
7. Status	• covert prestige within user subculture • low status in community • widening of user base is leading to it gaining more acceptability	• same as for Zulu-based Tsotsitaal	• covert prestige within user subculture • low status in community - associated with criminality • colloquial subvariety more acceptable than slang subvariety • status lies between (Tembisa) Iscamtho and argot	• status lies between that of Tsotsitaal and the Black Urban Vernacular • not associated with the same level of criminality as is Tsotsitaal	• low status • linked to crime and juvenile delinquency

3.7 CONCLUDING REMARKS

The preceding descriptions of the language varieties which occur in multilingual black urban settings, indicate that the standard languages are in fact involved in a process of modernisation and linguistic change. Although the consequences of this change are experienced by many as negative, this process is also proof of the fact that the standard languages are dynamic and alive (Zungu, 1995:191). In this sense, the evolving terminology (and language varieties) empowers the speakers of the standard African languages to participate fully in a rapidly changing world.

Phenomena encountered during this process of modernisation and change include codeswitching, adoption, and language change in terms of phonetic, phonological, morphological and syntactic changes to linguistic systems. These manifestations of language change will be attended to in more detail in the following chapters.

The information presented in this chapter provides an overview of the language situation in black urban areas. This information is presented in far more detail within the subreports of Calteaux, Khumalo, Ntshangase, Thipa, and Zungu and these should be consulted for in-depth studies of the varieties mentioned here.

CHAPTER 4: PHONOLOGICAL CHANGES

4.1 INTRODUCTION

It was mentioned in the previous chapter that language contact inevitably leads to interference. This can take various forms, of which the most well known is possibly lexical or semantic interference. However, the sound systems of languages are also affected by language contact. Khumalo (1995:93) indicates, for instance, that in Daveyton some "Zulu speakers would employ Ndebele pronunciations and accents in their speech". This can be referred to as phonological interference, and it is this type of interference which forms the main focus of the present chapter.

4.2 DIFFERENCES BETWEEN PHONOLOGICAL SYSTEMS

Phonological interference concerns changes in the sound systems of languages. When contact between two languages with similar phonological systems such as Zulu and Xhosa occurs, there may be little or no change between the sound of the source item and that of the adopted item (Koopman, 1994:149). Examples are the Zulu words **ummbona** 'maize', **umhwebi** 'trader' (< **hweba** 'to trade'), **shada** 'to marry' (from Xhosa **tshata**), and **isikhumkane** 'wealthy person', which are all adopted from Xhosa (according to D&V, see Koopman, 1994:149), and are phonetically similar to the original Xhosa words.

However, when English words such as **granadilla** and **hospital** are adopted into Zulu as **ugilayindeni** and **isibhedlela**, it is clear that extensive phonological changes have taken place (Koopman, 1994:150). Van Wyk (1974:149) summarises the processes at work here as follows:

> In sowel Afrikaans as die Bantoetale word die vorme van leenwoorde aangepas om te beantwoord aan die fonologiese reëls van die ontvangende taal. Die wyse waarop leenwoorde fonologies geintegreer word, verskil egter opvallend: in die Bantoetale geskied dit reëlmatig, in Afrikaans nie.

Other scholars who have studied these issues include Khumalo (1984), Kunene (1963) and Nkabinde (1968).

4.3 DIACHRONIC AND SYNCHRONIC LANGUAGE CHANGES

A diachronic study of language looks at language over a period of time, while a synchronic study looks at language at a particular time (Koopman, 1994:151).

An interesting phenomenon of phonological interference which has been noted by various scholars in the past, is that earlier adoptives into a language, tend to conform more strictly to the phonological system of the receiver language than later adoptives (Koopman, 1994:152). Characteristic of early language contact therefore, is the tendency to replace a foreign

phoneme with the phoneme felt to bear the nearest resemblance in one's native language. Kunene (in Koopman, 1994:152) explains this as follows:

> ... the SS. [Southern Sotho] speaker, in the early stages of linguistic adaptation at any rate, does not disturb the phonemic structure of his language by introducing new sounds and sound-combinations from the language from which he acquires new words, but rather distorts those sounds, and avoids those combinations, according to the pattern of his own language. He always, therefore, uses the phoneme in his language nearest to the foreign one.

Koopman (1994:152) states that this is what Ross (1965:35) calls *lautersatz*. As speakers become more familiar with the phonology of the contact languages, however, "foreign" phonemes become more common in their language. Thipa (1989) has shown, for instance, that "foreign" phonemes are found more commonly in the speech of **urban** Xhosa speakers, than in that of **rural** Xhosa speakers. Kunene (1963) makes a similar observation about "foreign" consonant clusters in Southern Sotho (Koopman, 1994:152).

Kent (Koopman, 1994:152) too made similar observations regarding "direct borrowings" in Xhosa, as early as 1948. He summarises these as follows:

> The degree of assimilation varies to a great extent, as will become apparent in the body of this essay. The tendency is to make less and less phonetical change as Xhosa-speakers learn to pronounce foreign sounds. Thus we will find that those words borrowed first tend to be more fully assimilated to the Xhosa phonetic system than the more recent acquisitions. In the urban areas like Cape Town European words are incorporated into the language with very little phonetic change at the present time.

4.4 THE CONCEPT "PHONEME"

Any discussion of phonological interference should start with a consideration of the speech sounds of the particular language under scrutiny. However, in this report the emphasis is on general trends in language interference. The data therefore stretches over various languages, and an in-depth study of the sound system of one language (or indeed of all the languages under discussion) is thus not viable. Instead, attention will be given to specific instances of interference which will be illustrated with examples from the language(s) concerned.

A brief exposition of the sound system of the African languages in terms of the **typical phonemes** occurring in these languages is, however, needed in order to contextualise the comparisons which will follow. Lass (in Madiba, 1994:118) defines the concept "phoneme" as follows:

> A phonological unit serving a contrastive function; a minimal **segment**-sized unit capable of distinguishing meaning.

Phonemes can therefore be distinguished by contrasting pairs of words which are phonetically identical in every respect except for one sound segment. These are referred to as minimal pairs, and at least two phonemes can be identified from each pair (Madiba, 1994:118).

Madiba (1994:118) gives the following examples, in which /l/ and /t/ can be identified as phonemes of Venda:

u tala	'to swim'	/l/
u tata	'to be sensitive'	/t/

Some phonemes, have different phonetical realisations known as allophones (Madiba, 1994:119). The phoneme /m/ in Venda, for instance, is realised as **[m]** in certain environments and as **[ɱ]** in others. These sounds are variants of the phoneme /m/ and do not function distinctively.

4.5 THE VOWEL AND CONSONANT SYSTEMS OF THE AFRICAN LANGUAGES

All the African languages have a **vowel system** and a **consonant system**. Poulos (in Madiba, 1994:115) defines **vowels** as "a category of sounds which are produced with a relatively unobstructed air passage ... when vowels are produced, the articulators are fairly wide apart...". Vowels can be divided into simple vowels and compound vowels or diphthongs (Madiba, 1994:116). Most of the African languages (e.g. Venda, Tsonga, Xhosa, Zulu) have five basic vowels in their sound systems. Some (e.g. Northern Sotho), however, have seven basic vowels. For a detailed description of the articulatory features of the vowels found in the dialects of Tsonga (and many of the other African languages have the same vowel properties), refer to Mathumba (1993:73,74). In the five vowel systems, two of the phonemes (mid-low back and mid-low front) have variants which are realised as mid-high back and mid-high front respectively, i.e. the phoneme /ɛ/ is realised as [ɛ] and as [e], and /ɔ/ as [ɔ] and as [o].

Although the African languages are generally considered not to have **diphthongs** as part of their sound system, some scholars argue that they do occur in certain languages such as Venda. "A diphthong is a two-part vowel sound which, as a matter of convenience, can be described as a sound which involves a movement of the tongue from one vowel quality to another" (Poulos in Madiba, 1994:117). It remains to be ascertained, however, whether these are diphthongs (as it would appear during quick speech) or whether they are in fact separate vowels (as it would seem from normal or slow speech).

The **consonants** which make up the consonant system of an African language may be classified according to their (a) place of articulation (i.e. bilabial, alveolar, etc.) (see Madiba, 1994:119) or their (b) manner of articulation (i.e. explosive, fricative, etc.) (see Mathumba, 1993:75), or a combination of both (see Mathumba, 1993:122). Each language distinguishes its own set of consonants which are peculiar to it, (for example, the clicks are peculiar to the Nguni languages and Southern Sotho), although many languages also share similar consonants. A description of the consonants of each of the African languages lies outside the scope of this report. An excellent exposition of the dialectical manifestations of Tsonga consonants (and vowels) is, however, given by Mathumba (1993). This may be consulted for

further details regarding the consonant system(s) of a standard language and its regional dialects.

Of more concern here, are the permissible consonant combinations in each language, as these are often affected by language contact. "A language imposes certain restrictions on the kinds of combinations into which speech sounds can be put, and every speaker knows, albeit subconsciously perhaps, which sounds and which sound sequences belong to his own particular language" (Poulos in Madiba, 1994:120).

It is also not feasible to discuss all the permissible consonant combinations within the various African languages. For a detailed discussion of these combinations in Venda, see Madiba (1994:120-123), and for Xhosa, see Thipa (1989:56-60).

4.6 CHANGES TO THE SOUND SYSTEMS OF THE AFRICAN LANGUAGES

4.6.1 Vowel changes

One of the basic problems with adoptives into the African languages, is that languages such as Zulu, Venda and Xhosa, have simple five-vowel systems and no diphthongs, whereas source languages such as English and Afrikaans have 12 vowels and 10 diphthongs, and 11 vowels and 10 diphthongs, respectively (Koopman, 1994:178).This means that these source language vowels have to find their nearest equivalent in the particular African language. Two complications arise in this situation, namely (a) having to fit approximately two dozen different sounds into five different vowel sounds, and (b) trying to work out the exact sound of the original source of a particular adoptive (Koopman, 1994:178).

Due to complications such as these, and the fact that there are many exceptions to the rule (see Koopman, 1994:178), it is not surprising that few South African scholars (with the exception of Kunene, 1963 and Nkabinde, 1968) have attempted to provide rules for phoneme replacement in the African languages.

This replacement of vowels in the source language with vowels which occur in the African languages, is termed vowel **substitution** by Madiba (1994:155), which helps to differentiate between this process and the process whereby a vowel assimilates to a preceding or succeeding one. Madiba (1994:176) refers to this replacement of vowels as the **native segment inventory constraint**, as it prevents the occurrence of any vowel which does not belong to the language's sound inventory.

The different schools of thought regarding phonological processes (see 4.11), have different ways of referring to these processes. The structuralist school, for instance, refers to the changes which take place when segments are strung together as "sound changes". In generative phonology, these are referred to as "phonological processes", while in natural phonology reference is made to "natural processes" (Mathumba, 1993:142). These terms are used interchangeably in this report.

4.6.1.1 Vowel substitution

The adoption of foreign vowels into the phonological systems of the Bantu languages, does not occur haphazardly, but seems to be governed mainly by *phonetic approximation*. In other words, foreign vowels are replaced by vowels which are (phonetically) closest to them in the adopting language (Madiba, 1994:176).

Similar substitutions of the same foreign vowel

Koopman (1994:180-183) tests each of Nkabinde's 12 rules for "vowel shifts" against data from D&V, and suggests several modifications and two additions to the original set of rules.

Madiba (1994:156-167) likewise provides Venda equivalents to all the vowels found in Afrikaans and English, and illustrates these with examples.

In most instances, African languages substitute source language vowels in the same manner, e.g.

/ʌ/	Z.	/a/	e.g.	**ibhasi** < *bus*
	Ve.	/a/	e.g.	**basi** < *bus*
/æ/	Z.	/a/ or /e/	e.g.	**ubhaka** < *bag*
				ugesi < *gas*
	Ve.	[ɛ] or [a]	e.g.	**giravhulo** < *gravel*
				kheshe < *cash*

Different substitutions of the same foreign vowel

No examples of different substitutions of the same foreign vowel were found in the subreports. What did occur, however, was differences in the range of Bantu vowels used to substitute foreign vowels. For instance, in Venda the English vowel [ə] occurs as [ɛ], [i], [u], [a], or [ɔ] (Madiba, 1994:160), whereas in Zulu it mainly occurs as /e/, /i/, and /a/ (Koopman, 1994:181):

Ve.	vhengele	<	Afr. *winkel*	'shop'
	ṱafula	<	Afr. *tafel*	'table'
	khabodo	<	*cupboard*	
	faḓa	<	*father*	
Z.	ikhabethe	<	*cupboard*	
	ikhabathi	<	*cupboard*	
	iklabishi	<	*cabbage*	

Thus one language may have more manifestations of a foreign vowel than another language, but essentially, foreign vowels seem to be substituted in a similar manner in African languages with five-vowel systems. Whether this is also true for African languages with seven-vowel systems, such as Northern Sotho, was not investigated in any of the STANON

subreports. Other studies on adoptives in Northern Sotho (e.g. Mokgokong, 1966; Kruger, 1965) may, however, shed more light on this issue.

Zungu (1995:162) indicates that words adopted into the codes and registers used in the GDA, substitute an [a] for a final schwa in the source word, e.g.

i-rubber	>	irabha	'fat cook / condom'
u-four-finger	>	ufo:finga	'a pick-pocket'
i-sponsor	>	isponsa	'an extravagant drinker who entertains everyone in the shebeen'

4.6.1.2 Vowel elision

Mathumba (1993:158) indicates that a feature of Pretoria Tsonga (urban non-standard Tsonga which shows evidence of interference from [Pretoria] Sotho), is the elision of initial vowels in some words, e.g.

-etlela / -tlela	'sleep'
-ehleketa / -hleketa	'think'
-olola / -lola	'straighten'

Mathumba (1993:156,158) found that this phenomenon is prevalent amongst urban speakers from certain Tsonga tribes, namely the Gwamba and Luleke tribes as initial vowel elision is a feature of these dialects.

4.6.2 Substitution of diphthongs

It was mentioned above that there are arguments for the occurrence of diphthongs in Venda. However, Madiba (1994:167-179) investigates the issue and comes to the conclusion that this is not the case. He bases this finding on two facts:

(a) although foreign diphthongs are often substituted by two vowels in Venda, these vowels carry two separate tones indicating that they can be seen as two separate syllables rather than diphthongs; and
(b) there is a tendency in Venda to insert a glide between the vowel sequences, e.g. **tshikweya, andaweya, thawula,** which he feels demonstrates a language constraint against the occurrence of diphthongs in Venda.

As diphthongs are therefore not tolerated in the African languages, they are often reduced to simple vowels - either a single vowel, or to two vowels - and spread over two syllables, sometimes separated by one of the semi-vowels /y/ or /w/ (Koopman, 1994:183; Madiba, 1994:177,178). Ross (in Koopman, 1994:184) terms this process "*monophthongisation*: the changing of a diphthong into a single vowel". Examples of these changes are given below.

4.6.2.1 Diphthongs reduced to single vowels

Afr.	*ba:ici*	>	Ve.	badzhi	'jacket'	[a:i]	>	[a]
Afr.	*suiker*	>	Ve.	swigiri	'sugar'	[œy]	>	[i]
Afr.	*druiwe*	>	Ve.	ndirivhe	'grapes'	[œy]	>	[i]

jail		>	Ve.	**dzhele**		[ei]	>	[ɛ]
jail		>	X.	**ijele**		[ei]	>	[ɛ]
Afr.	*kaptein*	>	Ve.	kaputeni	'captain'	[əI]	>	[ɛ]
Afr.	*trein*	>	Ve.	ṱhireni	'train'	[əI]	>	[ɛ]
train		>	X.	itreni		[əI]	>	[ɛ]
compound		>	Z.	inkompolo		[ɑʊ]	>	/o/
waiter		>	Z.	uweta		[eI]	>	/e/
photo		>	Z.	ifotho		[əu]	>	/o/
stove		>	X.	istovu		[əu]	>	/o/
Afr. *seep*		>	Z.	insipho		[iə]	>	/i/
Afr. *kruisbande*		>	Z.	ikilesibande	'braces'	[œI]	>	/e/

4.6.2.2 Diphthongs reduced to two vowels (i.e. a vowel sequence)

bicycle	>	Ve.	**baisigira**	[ai]	>	[a+i]
dice	>	Ve.	**daizi**	[ai]	>	[a+i]
tie	>	Ve.	**thai**	[ai]	>	[a+i]
bail	>	Ve.	**beili**	[ei]	>	[e+i]
join	>	Ve.	**dzhoini**	[oi]	>	[o+i]

This vowel sequence constitutes two syllables (Madiba, 1994:178).

4.6.2.3 Diphthongs separated by semi-vowels

tie	>	Ve.	**thayi**	[ai]	>	[ayi]
bail	>	Ve.	**beyili**	[ei]	>	[eyi]
square	>	Ve.	**tshikweya**	[eə]	>	[eya]
underwear	>	Ve.	**andaweya**	[eə]	>	[eya]
Bible	>	Z.	**iBhayibheli**	[ɑI]	>	/ayi/
powder	>	Z.	**iphawuda**	[ɑʊ]	>	/awu/
join	>	Z.	**joyina**	[ɔI]	>	/oyi/
beer	>	Z.	**ubhiye**	[iə]	>	/iye/
blouse	>	X.	**ibhlawuzi**	[ɑʊ]	>	/awu/
sign	>	X.	**sayina**	[ai]	>	[ayi]
dreish (< German)	>	GDA.	**idreyishi**	'three (in soccer code)'		

Some foreign diphthongs may be substituted by more than one Bantu vowel, e.g.

English diphthong [əʊ]	>	Ve. [ɔ] **or** [ɔ+u]	
overall	>	Ve.	**ovarolo**
telephone	>	Ve.	**thelefoni**
phone	>	Ve.	**founi**
phoneme	>	Ve.	**founimi**

Note that in the first two examples, the single vowel which replaces the diphthong is neither of the two vowels of the diphthong. Madiba (1994:175) explains this as a form of **vowel coalescence**.

Afrikaans diphthong [iə]	>	Z. /i/ **or** /e/	
steen	>	Z.	isitini	'brick'
beker	>	Z.	ibhikili	'mug'
sweep	>	Z.	isiswebhu	'whip'
preekstoel	>	Z.	ibhesitulu	'pulpit'

Explanations for the choice of vowel to substitute the diphthong are given by Madiba (1994:168-177). He proposes that the substitution is determined by the sonority of the diphthong, i.e. factors such as pitch, stress and duration play a role. He argues, for instance, that the English diphthong [ei] as in ['keik] occurs as [ɛ] in Venda, thus [khɛkhɛ], due to the fact that the stress in the diphthong syllable falls mainly on the first vowel and it also has a longer duration. This influences its perception by the non-speaker of English as [ɛ].

However, the main determining factor in the choice of vowel to substitute the foreign diphthong still seems to be phonetic similarity (as was the case with foreign vowel substitutions), i.e. the diphthong is replaced by an adopting language vowel which is phonetically closest to the first vowel (most sonorous vowel) in the diphthong (Madiba, 1994:177).

For a more detailed discussion of the rules which govern the adaptation of diphthongs in Zulu, refer to Koopman (1994:184-187); and for Venda, refer to Madiba (1994:167-179).

4.6.3 Phonetic convergence

An interesting consequence of the reduction of 11 or 12 vowels to five, is that source words which are phonetically distinct often become indistinct when adopted into the African languages. Koopman (1994:187-189) refers to this phenomenon as "phonetic convergence", and provides the following examples from Zulu:

ipeni	<	*pen*
ipeni	<	*penny*
ukhokho	<	*cocoa*
ukhokho	<	*cork*: or any stopper of bottle
ikamu	<	Afr. *kam*: 'comb'
ikamu	<	(military) *camp*
umata	<	*mat* (also floor-rug, linoneum)
umata	<	Afr. *maat*: 'companion, mate'
isipolo	<	Afr. *spoor*: 'length of railway line'
isipolo	<	*spur* (as used by rider)

isipolo < *spool, reel*

In certain instances the source words show morphological interference and semantic changes, for example with 'stairs' and 'stays' which converge as **isi-tezi** in Zulu. In other cases, however, only simple approximation to the nearest vowel sound occurs, without any morphological or semantic complications, as with **igatha** < *gutter* and **igatha** < *garter* (Koopman, 1994:187,188).

4.6.4 Consonant changes

4.6.4.1 Single consonants

Two types of changes to foreign consonants during adoption can be distinguished, namely (a) substitution of consonants which do not occur in the adopting language, and (b) different realisations of foreign consonants which do occur in the adopting language (Madiba, 1994:179).

4.6.4.1.1 Substitution of consonants which do not occur

As with vowels, foreign words also have consonants which the native segment inventory constraint will not permit to occur in the African languages. English, for example, contains sounds such as the lateral [l], and the dental [ð] and [θ], which do not occur in Venda (Madiba, 1994:180). Other examples are the clicks of Zulu, or the implosives of Shona, which do not occur in Venda either. Source language consonants which do not occur in the adopting language, therefore have to undergo change to fit in with the sound system of the adopting language. Once again, phonetic approximation seems to be the main determining factor in the choice of substituting phoneme.

A few examples of changes to foreign consonants in Venda may be given as follows (Madiba, 1994:180-198):

Eng. [θ]	>	Ve. [ṯ]	e.g.	*Lutheran*	>	Luṯere
	>	Ve. [th]	e.g.	***th**esis*	>	**th**isisi
Eng. [ð]	>	Ve. [d]	e.g.	*heathen*	>	muhedeni
	>	Ve. [ḏ]	e.g.	*leather*	>	leḏa

Eng./Afr. lateral [l] > Ve. dental [l̪]; lateral [l] or tap [ɾ]

e.g. *wool* > wulu (tap, lateral or dental) [ɾ]/[l]/[l̪]

Nguni Clicks: gq [!g]	>	Ve. g [g]	e.g.	Z. um**Gq**ibelo	>	Ve. Mu**g**ivhela
xh [//h]	>	Ve. th [th]	e.g.	X. ama**Xh**osa	>	Ve. Ma**th**osa
q [!]	>	Ve. t [t]	e.g.	Z. um**q**ombothi	>	Ve. mu**t**omboti

Mathumba (1993:136) indicates a similar change of a Nguni click in Tsonga, to that shown above for Venda (compare third last example above):

Ts. Mugivela < Z. umGqibelo cf. Ve. g [g] < Z. gq [!g]

4.6.4.1.2 Substitution of consonants which do occur

Madiba (1994:184) indicates that there are many consonants from English and Afrikaans which are replaced by other consonants in Venda, even though they are found in the sound inventory of Venda. Although one would expect them to be adopted into Venda without modification, this does not happen. The replacement of these consonants raises a number of questions related to why this occurs, and to the factors which determine the choice of consonant to replace these sounds. Madiba (1994:184-198) attempts to answer some of these questions by analysing several examples. Again, the main determining factor seems to be phonetic approximation, while the phonetic environment in which the sounds occur also plays a role. A few examples can be given to illustrate this. For further details refer to Madiba (*op. cit.*):

Afr. [k] > Ve. [g] as both are unaspirated

e.g.	***koring***	>	**gurou**	'wheat'
	suiker	>	**swigiri**	'sugar'
	plek	>	**bulege**	'place'

Afr. [v] > Ve. vh [β] as both have labial qualities and are voiced

e.g.	Afr. ***werk***	>	**vh**erega	'work'
	Afr. ***week***	>	**vh**ege	'week'
	Afr. ***winkel***	>	**vh**engele	'shop'

Zungu (1995:159) gives some examples of words in the codes and registers spoken in the GDA, which indicate that this process also features in these codes and registers:

Eng./Afr. [s] > GDA Z. [z] both are fricatives

e.g.	Afr. ***jas***	>	ijazi	'condom'
	gasoline	>	igazoli	'petrol/fuel'
	boss	>	ibhoza	'hero/bully'

4.6.4.1.3 Modern trends

Mathumba (1993:133) exposes the occurrence of sounds in urban Tsonga (Pretoria Tsonga) which were not traditionally part of the standard language's sound system.

(i) He indicates, for instance, the occurrence of **syllabic nasals** which are not characteristic of standard Tsonga, but occur in (spoken) Pretoria Tsonga due to the influence of the Sotho languages. Examples include:

Wa he<u>mm</u>ba	'you are lying'
Tshama ha<u>nn</u>si	'sit down'

These syllabic nasals occur under influence of Sotho examples such as **ke a mmona** (I see him/her), and **mme** (mother).

(ii) A further instance of interference by foreign consonants in urban Tsonga, is the loss of **whistling sounds** in Pretoria Tsonga. In the following example, the labialised (un-whistled) form of [s] is uncharacteristic of standard Tsonga:

A hi swona sweswo	'That is not correct'
[a ɦi sʷɔna sʷɛsʷɔ]	

(iii) Use of the devoiced or softened bilabial /p/ or dentilabial /v/ instead of the voiced bilabial explosive [b], is also characteristic of Sotho, and indicates Sotho interference in Pretoria Tsonga, e.g.

U le ka Sap A	'he/she is doing Sub A'
thayimiteyulu	'timetable'

Khumalo (1995:63) indicates that Zulu speakers in Daveyton tend to substitute the Zulu click [!] **q** with [/] **c**, e.g.

sengiçedile ukwenza amaçanda < **sengiqedile ukwenza amaqanda**
'I have finished preparing the eggs.'

This trend was also found in Tembisa (Calteaux, 1994) and seems to be a form of sound "levelling", i.e. minimising differences between sounds in order to facilitate communication with non-mother tongue speakers.

4.6.4.2 Consonant clusters

4.6.4.2.1 Separation of consonant clusters

Khumalo (in Koopman, 1994:190) states that

> If a word adopted into Zulu divides up into syllables containing consonantal clusters, such clusters must conform to the phonotactic requirements of Zulu, otherwise they are dissolved and reconstituted into new syllables comprising acceptable segment sequences.

This process applies to all the African languages, although it must be kept in mind that not all consonant clusters are unacceptable. Zulu, for instance, has syllables of the following shapes (Koopman, 1994:190): V, CV, CCV, and CCCV. Thipa (1989:56-60) also discusses the acceptable consonant sequences in Xhosa. Acceptable consonant clusters in a language, will obviously not be changed when they occur in adopted words.

Koopman (1994:191) divides the changes which are made to "unacceptable" source clusters, into four groups, namely (a) acceptable source cluster retained; (b) unacceptable source cluster separated; (c) reduced clusters; and (d) modern trends.

(a) Acceptable source cluster retained

In many cases, examples which show retention of acceptable clusters, simultaneously show separation of unacceptable clusters, e.g. Zulu **iFulentshi** 'Frenchman', where the acceptable nch is retained while fr is separated to fule. Other examples from Zulu (Koopman, 1994:192) include:

ibhentshi	'bench'
ikilesibandi	'braces' (< Afr. *kruisbande*)
ikhukhumba	'cucumber'

(Note that in the second example, the first two clusters /kr/ and /sb/ have been separated but the third, /nd/, retained.)

(b) Unacceptable source cluster separated

Koopman (1994:192, 193) further divides these clusters into those which occur within a syllable or across a syllable boundary, and those which cross a morpheme boundary. (The latter type - those which occur across morpheme boundaries will be discussed under morphological interference below. We therefore only concentrate on clusters occurring within syllables and those crossing syllable boundaries here.)

(i) Source clusters within syllable boundaries

These clusters are separated by vowel epenthesis, for example the following words taken from Zulu (Koopman, 1994:193):

ibhayisikobhu	'bioscope'	
ibhulukwe	'trousers'	(< Afr. *broek*)
usilika	'silk'	

The same process occurs in Venda (Madiba, 1994:200-210). The following examples can be given to illustrate this:

purofiti/porofiti	'profit'
bulatsho	'brush'
ṱhirakha	'truck'
ḓiraiva	'driver'
girisi	'grease'
kiliniki	'clinic'
gulupu	'globe'
bulausu	'blouse'

Madiba (*op. cit.*) discusses in depth the choice of vowel to be inserted in unacceptable consonant clusters. The main factor seems to be assimilation to either the preceding consonant or the succeeding vowel. For further information on this refer to this subreport.

(ii) Source clusters across syllables

The following examples are taken from Zulu (Koopman, 1994:193,194):

ibhilidokwe	'bulldog'
udokotela	'doctor'
isiliva	'silver'

Examples of this can also be found in Venda (Madiba, 1994:211):

basikete	'basket'
khasiṭaḍi	'custard'
phasipoto	'passport'

(c) Reduction of consonant clusters

Koopman (1994:194) mentions that foreign consonant clusters may also be changed through consonant deletion (described by Khumalo as vowel epenthesis followed by final syllable deletion). Koopman provides the following examples from Zulu, to illustrate this process:

ibhulakufesi	'breakfast'	(t deleted from st)
idayimani	'diamond'	(d deleted from nd)
isitshudeni	'student'	(t deleted from nt)

Madiba (1994:210) indicates that this also takes place in Venda, especially in adopted verb roots, e.g.

-koloda	Afr. *skuld*	'debt'	(s deleted from sk)
-pana	Afr. *span*	'yoke'	(s deleted from sp)
-kima		'scheme'	(s deleted from sch)

(d) Modern trends

Koopman (1994:195-198) summarises the modern trends in Zulu with: "[s]ome previously 'unacceptable' consonant clusters have become acceptable in Zulu". He gives the following examples:

inkontraka	'contract'	
iSakramente	'Sacrament'	
isipringi	'spring'	
ihelikhophtha	'helicopter'	
ikenebtange	'pliers'	(<Afr. *knyptang*)
itreksudi	'tracksuit'	
i-eksireyi	'X-ray'	
ukhrimu wokurelaksa ama-curls	(taken from BONA magazine)	

In fact, Thipa (1989:68) states that phonemic adjustments in borrowed sounds, are more characteristic of **rural Xhosa**. Urban Xhosa speakers, on the other hand, would not readily substitute the English sounds with their Xhosa equivalents in actual speech. Koopman (1994:191) indicates that this is a modern trend in adoptives, as shown above.

Thipa (1989:60-63) gives several examples of foreign consonant clusters which occur in Xhosa:

itreni	'train	**ifriji**	'fridge'
iprofesa	'professor'	**igrama**	'grammar'
ukudribula	'to dribble'	**ikonsathi**	'concert'
iKrismesi	'Christmas'	**i-inshorensi**	'insurance'
iskoro	'score'	**ikonvenshoni**	'convention'
ibhlawuzi	'blouse'	**ikliniki**	'clinic'
ibhrayi	'braai	**ukuslima**	'to slim'
iplastiki	'plastic'	**ifektri**	'factory'

He indicates (1989:65) that these clusters were found in his corpus of data from both rural and urban speakers of Xhosa, and that the only qualification he can give, is that urban speakers who have been exposed to the western concepts relayed by the above-mentioned terms, can be said to use the foreign clusters **to a larger degree**, than is the case with rural Xhosa speakers. Urban speakers also tend to choose adoptives when standard Xhosa terms exists, whereas rural Xhosa speakers tend to choose standard Xhosa words over the adopted forms.

This modern trend of retaining "unacceptable" consonant clusters is also exposed by Zungu (1995:156) when she states that "very few urban dwellers who have been exposed to western culture employ the real standard Zulu syllabic structures...when using adopted words". She gives the following examples of words found in the codes and registers employed in the GDA:

u**Br**enda	'a stolen car'
i**flors**heim	'a beast'
i-**fr**eeway	'useless player who does not give his opponents a hard time'
i-**fr**idge	'a coward'

Madiba (1994:211) likewise gives examples of "traditionally unacceptable" consonant clusters in Venda, which may be separated, but which may also occur in unseparated, i.e. source language, form. He indicates that the latter forms are used by "people who have a thorough knowledge of the source language sound system":

fulusikepe / fuluskepe	'foolscap'
basikitsi / baskitsi	'biscuit'
basitere / bastere	'bastard'

4.6.4.3 Nasals and Alveolars

Koopman (1994:199) indicates that nasals in source language words do not normally change when the word is adopted into Zulu. Nasals may be assimilated as single consonants, as in **ipalamende** 'parliament', or in consonant clusters, as in **ujinja** 'ginger'.

Some source language words with nasals in initial position are adopted into class 9 (plural - class 10), with the nasal becoming part of the class prefix, e.g. Z. **imayini** 'mine', and **inalithi** 'needle'. This is, however, not the norm as many more source words are adopted into Zulu noun classes with no nasal in the prefix (Koopman, 1994:200), e.g.

classes 1a and 3a with plurals in class 2a:

umalibele	'mulberry'
umandalini	'mandarin (orange)'
unoyi	'Afrikaans married woman' (< Afr. *nooi*)

class 5, with plurals in class 6:

iminithi	'minute'
imayela	'mile'
inabukeni	'napkin'

examples found in class 1a/3a as well as class 5:

unesi/inesi	'nurse'
unantshi/inantshi	'naartjie'

4.6.4.3.1 Nasal changes

In some instances, the nasal in the source word is subjected to some form of phonological change. Koopman (1994:201) describes three kinds of nasal changes to be found in Zulu adoptives: the more common **addition** of a nasal, and the less common **deletion** and **transposition** of nasals.

(a) Addition of a nasal can occur in final, medial and initial positions. Koopman (*op. cit.*) provides the following examples:

(i) final position:

ubhulomo	'washing blue' 'mottled ox' (< Afr. *blou*)
ugamthilini	'gumtree'

(ii) medial position:

imantshi	'magistrate'
impontshi	'pouch'

(iii) initial position:

Source nouns which do not have a nasal in initial position, are nonetheless often adopted into class 9, with plural in class 10, and as a result often acquire an initial nasal. Koopman (1994:202) is of the opinion, however, that such nouns acquired a nasal prefix first, and as a result were adopted into class 9. He gives two reasons for this, namely that (a) "in most cases the additional nasal is in the prefix, and not in the adopted stem of the adoptive"; and (b) "in each case the source noun contains at least one nasal in medial or final position, which is 'copied' as part of a class prefix". He gives the following examples from Zulu by way of illustration:

inkantini	'canteen'	
inkontrakta	'contract'	
inkinobho	'button'	(< Afr. *knoop*)

(b) Deletion of a nasal

Koopman (1994:203) only gives two examples from Zulu:

ifasitele	<	Afr. *venster*
imfuluyeza	<	*influenza*

The following example was found in Madiba (1994:200) for Venda:

phirisipala	<	*principal*

Mathumba (1993:168) indicates that nasal deletion causes several problems for pupils learning standard Tsonga, because although this process is common in certain Tsonga dialects, e.g. Luleke, it is not tolerated in standard Tsonga. Teachers regard certain words in which nasals have been elided as spelling mistakes, and penalise pupils for this. Mathumba gives the following examples of nasal deletion in Tsonga:

hloko	<	**nhloko**	'head'
fenhe	<	**mfenhe**	'baboon'
xikwa	<	**xinkwa**	'bread'
hlapfi	<	**hlampfi**	'fish'

(c) Transposition of nasals

Koopman's Zulu examples (1994:203) all show "a transposition of the nasal from the first syllable of the source noun to the prefix of class 9", e.g.

injitimane	'gentleman'
intilasipoti	'transport'
impesheni	'pension'

4.6.4.3.2. Alveolars

Koopman (1994:203-206) also discusses some instances in Zulu adoptives, where source nasals change to other alveolars. He indicates correlations between /l/ and /n/, /l/ and /d/, and /l/ and /r/, although he states that these are "by no means common or regular". The following examples can be provided from Zulu:

N > L:		'compound'	>	**inkompolo**
	Afr.	'*lemoen*'	>	**ilamula**
L > N:		'lemonade'	>	**unamanadi**
		'location'	>	**unonkesheni**
R > N:		'general'	>	**ujenene**
	Afr.	'*boer*'	>	**ibhunu**
D > L:		'bastard'	>	**ibhasitele**
D > N:		'paddock'	>	**iphanuko**

4.6.4.4 Assimilation of ɾ

D & V (in Koopman, 1994:155) give the following entry for Zulu ɾ:

> **r** Voiced rolled lingual consonant, (i) occurring usually in certain imported words such as *uMariya* (Mary), *i(li)Giriki* (Greek); (ii) also found syllabically in certain onomatopoeic compounds, e.g. *drr, ndrr, brr, mbrr, prr, mprr, trr, ntrr* (of birds flying); *phrr* (of horse blowing); *grr* (of scampering of buck).

In order to understand how ɾ is assimilated into Zulu, Koopman (1994:156) indicates that an understanding of the phoneme /r/ as it occurs phonetically in other languages, is necessary. In standard (British) English /r/ is rendered as [ɹ], i.e. a voiced alveolar central approximant. In Afrikaans, /r/ is found as [r], i.e. a voiced alveolar trill, consisting of two or more taps of the tongue. Koopman mentions that this is also the standard pronunciation of /r/ in Scottish English. This voiced alveolar trill is similar to the "/rrr/" given by D & V as being found in certain onomatopoeic compounds, which indicates that it existed in the Zulu language before its contact with foreign languages such as English and Afrikaans. Koopman explains that "it is for this reason that Zulu adoptives which retain source language ɾ as /r/, do so as a trill".

4.6.4.4.1 English /r/ and Afrikaans /r/ to Zulu /l/

In order to understand why early adoptives in Zulu replaced /r/ with /l/, "[o]ne must realise that English /r/ and Afrikaans /r/ are very different phonetically and that Zulu speakers would hear them differently". Furthermore, Koopman (1994:157) explains that "English has two allophones of the /l/ phoneme, the so-called 'dark' and 'clear' /l/s, with the 'clear' [l], a voiced alveolar lateral approximant, occurring in syllable initial positions, while the 'dark' [ɫ], a velarised form of /l/, occurs in syllable final positions only. In the English word **lull**, the first

/l/ is a 'clear' [l], and the second a 'dark' [ɫ]. In the word **lulling**, however, both /l/s are 'clear', as the second one is no longer in syllable final position. Zulu only has one manifestation of the /l/ phoneme, the equivalent of the English 'clear' [l]." Koopman (*op. cit.*) sets out the phonetic relationship between these phonemes as follows:

English /r/:	Voiced	alveolar central	approximant
Zulu & Eng. /l/:	Voiced	alveolar lateral	approximant
Zulu /r/:	Voiced	alveolar trill	

From this it is clear that "the Zulu /l/ is phonetically closer to the English /r/ than the Zulu /r/ is. Given that in addition the Zulu /r/ originally only occurred in fairly rare onomatopoeic ideophones, and that English provides a far greater number of source items for Zulu adoptives than Afrikaans, with its trilled /r/, it is surely clear why early Zulu adoptives replaced source /r/ with /l/" (Koopman, 1994:158).

Koopman (1994:159-162) provides a host of examples of the change from /r/ to /l/, in:

(i) source language initial position:

iloliwe	<	Eng.	*railway*
ulwamu	<	Eng.	*rum*
ilayisi	<	Eng.	*rice*

(ii) source language medial position:

isambulela	<	Eng.	*umbrella*
idilobho	<	Afr.	*dorp* 'town'
ithilomu	<	Eng.	*tea-room*

(iii) source language final position:

ibhotela	<	Afr.	*botter* 'butter'
imotokali	<	Eng.	*motorcar*
isikwele	<	Eng.	*square*

(iv) source language consonant clusters:

BR:	**ibhuleki**	<	Eng.	*brake*
DR:	**idilamu**	<	Eng.	*drum*
KR:	**ikokoloshe**	<	Eng.	*cockroach*

4.6.4.4.2 English /r/ and Afrikaans /r/ to Zulu /r/

Koopman (1994:163) indicates that there are further examples in D & V of adoptives incorporating /r/:

(i) as a single phoneme:

umfarisi	<	Eng.	*Pharisee, hypocrite*
ipharadisi	<	Eng.	*paradise*

(ii) in consonant clusters:

uKrestu	<	Eng.	*Christ*
umpristi	<	Eng.	*priest*

Many of these examples reflect a missionary/church aspect of adoptives, and Koopman (1994:164) emphasises that "[t]he early influence of the missionaries on the writing of the Zulu language ... cannot be ignored".

4.6.4.4.3 Modern trends regarding /r/

Koopman (1994:164) indicates that "there can be little doubt that the use of /r/, rather than replacement by /l/ is the norm in modern adoptive processes". Both Koopman (1994:158) and Thipa (1989:75) indicate that this retention has to do with the "high status of /r/", or as Thipa calls it "prestigious pronunciation". Thipa found that variants pronounced with /r/ instead of /l/ were used more often by urban and literate people, e.g. **isigareth(i)** 'cigarette'; **ipetrol(i)** 'petrol'. On the other hand, the variants with /l/ instead of /r/, e.g. **isigaleth(i)** 'cigarette'; **ipetlol(i)** or **ipetilol(i)** 'petrol', were more characteristically used by rural Xhosa speakers.

Koopman (1994:164-169) provides lists of Zulu adoptives containing the phoneme /r/, taken from various sources to indicate modern trends in this regard. A few of his examples may be reproduced here:

irandi	<	*rand* (money)
iritheni	<	*return ticket*
iriphabhliki	<	*republic*
i-Afrika	<	*Africa*

For a host of further examples, consult Koopman (1994).

Koopman (1994:206-213) also discusses a number of **phonological curiosities** in Zulu adoptives. These will, however, not be dealt with here.

4.7 SYLLABLE ADJUSTMENTS

Khumalo (in Koopman, 1994:170) states:

> The first major alteration to words adopted into Zulu seems to be that of adjusting their syllable structure to fit in with that of Zulu. There are two major differences in the structure of Zulu syllables on the one hand, and those of English and Afrikaans on the other. The first concerns the shape of the

> syllables in the receptor and donor languages. ..... The second difference concerns the types of clusters permitted in the different languages.

The latter difference has already been dealt with above. The main focus here is therefore on the first difference, namely that of **syllable structure**.

Khumalo (in Koopman, 1994:170) points out that at the "systematic phonetic level" all Zulu syllables are open, i.e. they end in a vowel, whereas the majority of English and Afrikaans syllables are closed, i.e. they end in a consonant. An open syllable structure is in fact characteristic of all the South African Bantu languages. Exceptions are certain ideophones, e.g. Venda **tswo-rrr**, and syllabic nasals (i.e. nasal consonants which constitute a syllable on their own), e.g. Venda **m-pho** 'gift' (Madiba, 1994:125). (For an in-depth discussion of the latest theory on syllable structure, consult Madiba, 1994:125-127.)

When words are adopted into the African languages from Afrikaans or English, the closed syllable structure of these source languages, therefore poses a problem. Khumalo (in Koopman, 1994:170) indicates that Zulu deals with this problem "either by deleting a consonant ["coda deletion"], which is very rare indeed, or, as occurs in the majority of cases, by adding a final vowel, thus converting this final consonant into a CV syllable".

Khumalo gives two examples which exhibit "coda deletion": **ingadi** from Eng. 'garden' and **ilokishi** from Eng. 'location'. Both of these show deletion of final /n/, and so do 9 of the 14 other examples which Koopman (1994:170) was able to find, e.g. **ikhishi** < *kitchen*; **iphoyisa** < *policeman*; and **iLoma** < *Roman* (Catholic). (See Koopman, 1994:171 for examples which show deletion of /ng/, and /s/.) Madiba (1994:216) indicates similar examples of coda deletion in Venda: **tshiṱitshi** < *station*; **lokheshi** < *location*; **khishi** < *kitchen*; and **ngade** < *garden*.

Both Koopman and Madiba ascribe this coda deletion to the deletion of the locative suffix Z. **-ni**, and Ve. **-ni**, in order to avoid confusion between the noun form and the locative form of the word.

Zungu (1995:153) provides examples of words in GDA codes and registers which do not seem to support this explanation, e.g. **iNyuvesi** < *University* 'prison'; **ifowundeshi** < *foundation* 'food'; and **ikhemese** < *chemist* 'bottle store'. No explanation for this deletion of final syllables is given.

4.7.1 Vowel epenthesis

The second way of dealing with this problem, involves **vowel epenthesis**, a term used by Khumalo (Koopman, 1994:169) to refer to the addition of a vowel in the process of adoption. Koopman (1994:172,173) provides a list of rules given by Nkabinde (1968) for the predication of such vowels. The major determinants of the vowel to be inserted, seem to be the final consonantal phoneme itself (certain consonantal phonemes take particular terminal vowel phonemes), and vowel assimilation. Khumalo (Koopman, 1994:173,174) describes the choice of vowel to be inserted, as follows:

> A very general rule seems to apply in which the new vowel must be high, and must agree in labiality with the autosyllabic consonant it follows, i.e. the high back vowel /u/ will be epenthesized to labials and the high front vowel elsewhere.

This is also the process followed in Venda and in Xhosa. Thipa (1989:72) indicates that these processes hold true for both rural and urban Xhosa adoptives. (See Madiba, 1994:212-215 for further discussion of Venda examples, and Thipa, 1989:69-72 for discussion of Xhosa examples.)

The examples of codes and registers used in the Greater Durban Area (GDA) provided by Zungu (1995:151) also show evidence of these processes, e.g.

high back vowel /u/ following labials:

ipharagrafu	<	*paragraph*	'a short person'
istofu	<	Afr. *stoof*	'injection'
ikliphu	<	*clip*	'R1000-00'

high front vowel elsewhere:

ikati	<	Afr. *kat*	'goal-keeper with acrobatic saves'
isaswishi	<	*saswitch*	'drinker of all sorts of beverages'
useveni	<	*seven*	'prisoner serving seven years imprisonment for stabbing someone with a knife'

However, both Nkabinde and Khumalo indicate that there are many exceptions to the rule, and Koopman (1994:174) indicates that his data both confirms their rules and their exceptions. Madiba (1994:214) also indicates certain exceptions to the rule in Venda.

4.7.2 No need for vowel epenthesis

In some instances, however, there is no need for vowel epenthesis, as source words need little phonological adaptation during adoption. The source word and adoptive may even be identical save for the essential class prefix, e.g.

Z.	**uJehova**	<	*Jehova*	
Z.	**usofa**	<	*sofa*	(Koopman, 1994:175)

In certain cases, although phonologically extremely similar, orthographical differences may make source language items appear different in print, e.g.

Z.	**ubhanana**	<	*banana*	
Z.	**udonki**	<	*donkey*	
Z.	**ikwaya**	<	*choir*	
Z.	**uthimba**	<	*timber*	(Koopman, 1994:175,176)

The following examples from Zulu show the open-ended syllable structure, with various consonantal and vowel changes (Koopman, 1994:176):

ukhali	<	*curry*
iphinifo	<	*pinafore*
isitilomisi	<	Afr. *strooimeisie* 'bridesmaid'

4.7.3 Modern trends

Various scholars have indicated that there is a definite modern trend **in spoken language only** that final vowel epenthesis is no longer necessary. Thipa (1989:73-75) gives the examples **isigareth** < 'cigarette'; **irayis** < 'rice'; **itren** < 'train'; and **ipetrol** < 'petrol' for Xhosa. Koopman indicates that these terms have their equivalents in modern Zulu, but as in Xhosa, they are only found in speech.

Koopman (1994:176) indicates that although scholars such as M.B. Kumalo argue for modern Zulu writing to reflect current spoken trends, he does not include any examples of Zulu words ending in consonants. Furthermore, BONA magazine consistently writes words with consonant clusters unacceptable to "standard" or "traditional" Zulu phonological patterns, but does not allow words ending in a consonant. Koopman also found that although his Zulu mother tongue students regularly gave the Zulu adoptives of English words such as 'cream' and 'custard' as **ukhrim** and **ikhastad** in speech, these were invariably written as **ukhrimu** and **ikhastadi.**

From this Koopman (1994:177) concludes that:

> The phonological requirement of a final vowel in Zulu adoptives is still, in writing at least, as strong as the morphological requirement of the initial vowel of the noun class prefix.

The reason for this (i.e. the fact that the final vowel seems to be disappearing from modern speech), he maintains, "lies in the stress on the penultimate syllable in Zulu, which is such that the untrained (Non-Zulu) ear is not able to hear a final syllable". Although the untrained ear therefore may not hear the final syllable in spoken form, the final vowel is in fact still present, but with a very slight final pronunciation, thus '**umfanə**', which the English ear hears as '**umfaan**' (i.e. without any final vowel).

4.7.4 Final vowels in verb stems

In **verb stems** the final vowel is not determined by phonological processes at all, but by morphological processes (Madiba, 1994:215; Thipa, 1989:69). Therefore, the realisation of the final vowel [a] in Venda positive indicative constructions and [i] in Venda negative indicative constructions, for example, cannot be explained by any of the above-mentioned phonological processes.

4.8 PHONOLOGICAL PROCESSES

Reference was made above to certain phonological processes such as assimilation, coalescence, etc. Although a detailed discussion of these processes lies outside the scope of this report, Mathumba (1993) provides such a discussion in his subreport. Definitions of selected phonological processes are given, followed by comparisons of the manner in which these processes operate in the various dialects of Tsonga.

The greater part of Mathumba's discussion centres around the theoretical issues involved, however, and does not deal with instances of non-standard language influences on the standard language which are the main focus of this report. For this reason, only those instances in his discussion which do deal with influencing have been reported here. The reader is therefore referred to Mathumba (1993:140-166) for further discussion of the more theoretical issues involved.

4.8.1 Palatalisation in Tsonga

One phonological process which may be mentioned here is **palatalisation** in Tsonga. This phonological process provides an illustration of the difficulties which pupils experience, when learning the standard language (or dialect of a language) when that language (or dialect) is not their mother tongue.

Mathumba (1993:170) indicates that the incidence of palatalisation only applies to certain Tsonga dialects. A problem arises when it is assumed that palatalisation should occur in standard Tsonga (for instance in the formation of locatives and diminutives), and questions on diminutives and locatives which include these words are therefore applicable in examinations.

However, non-standard forms are often encountered in the responses of pupils, for example:

word	**dialectal form**	**standard form**	
murhi	ximurhana	ximudyana	'small tree'
rhole	xirholana	xirhodyana	'small calf'
ndlela	xindlelana	xindledyana	'small path'

Mathumba (1993:171) explains that the non-standard forms "make their appearance because the candidates supply the diminutive forms of their respective dialects. This sometimes poses problems even in the dialects which use the standard forms. A case in point is the word **timbambu** (ribs). Its diminutive form should logically be **swimbambyana** but because in daily speech it often occurs as **swimbyambyana**, that form also appears in the responses of candidates."

The problem is further exacerbated by the fact that pupils are often asked to identify the sound changes involved in forming the diminutives and locatives of the words supplied. As there is no sound change in the dialectal forms, pupils become confused and provide the names of any of the sound changes they can remember (Mathumba, 1993:172). It is clear that this situation

must be clarified in some way. (Further examples of non-standard language interference in the classroom are provided in Chapter 8.)

4.8.2 Other phonological processes

Zungu (1995:157-160) discusses other phonological processes which feature in the codes and registers used in the GDA. These processes include:

(i) **obstruent voicing**, where a voiceless obstruent becomes voiced when it occurs between two vowels, e.g.

boss	>	**ibh**oza	'hero/bully'
goods	>	i**g**uzu	'not to succeed in a mission'
jas	>	i**j**azi	'condom'

(ii) **stop voicing**, where a voiceless stop becomes voiced when preceded by contiguous or single vowels, or when occurring word finally, e.g.

Afr.	*skip*	>	isike**bh**e	'ship'
	knoop	>	inkino**bh**o	'button'
Eng.	*suit*	>	isu**d**i/insu**d**i	
	sweet	>	u**sw**idi	
	fork	>	imfolo**g**o	(note the consonant cluster)
	tent	>	ite**nd**e	(note the nasal combination)

(It must be mentioned here that no translations are given in the subreport for the examples under (ii), and that these seem to be normal adoptives into Zulu and not into GDA codes or registers. Similar examples of consonant changes were provided for Zulu and Venda above, where the explanation given was phonetic approximation.)

4.9 STRESS

The African languages are characterised by the occurrence of stress (or rather length) on the penultimate syllable, as in Xhosa **isiphi'wo** 'gift'; **su'la** 'wipe' (Thipa, 1989:66). Thipa (1989:67) indicates that stress on the penultimate syllable occurs in both rural and urban Xhosa. It would therefore appear, that stress patterns are not affected by language contact.

4.10 TONE

The African languages are tone languages. Poulos (in Madiba, 1994:127) defines a tone language as "a language in which pitch variation plays a role in changing the meaning of a word i.e. the meaning of a word can be changed by merely changing the pitch of the word". These distinctive pitches or pitch levels are referred to as tones, or tonemes. Venda, for instance, has two basic tone levels, namely high (H) and low (L), as well as a falling tone and

a rising tone. Tone is assigned to each syllable, and where a syllable consists of more than one element, i.e. a consonant and a vowel, tone is assigned to the latter (Madiba, 1994:128). Of importance is the fact that certain formatives or words are known to have particular tonal patterns (e.g. most noun prefixes in Venda are known to be marked with a low tone). Our concern here, however, is whether or not tonal patterns are affected by language contact.

Previous research indicated that the stressed syllables in words adopted from non-tonal languages such as English and Afrikaans into the tonal African languages, are realised as high tone in the African languages (Madiba, 1994:216).

Madiba (1994:217) indicates that adoptives are subjected to the tonal patterns of Venda. In the case of **nouns**, adoptives are assigned a class prefix and this prefix carries a low tone in accordance with the tonal pattern of the noun class-prefix system of Venda. Furthermore, there seems to be a correlation between the stressed syllables in the source language and the assignment of a high tone in Venda. (Madiba indicates that this phenomenon can at times assist in determining whether the source language is English or Afrikaans.)

The assignment of tone on **verb stems** in Venda (Madiba, 1994:219) also seems to be based on the stress-tone relationship mentioned above. For further discussion of these issues and examples of these processes (including tone-spread in verb stems), refer to Madiba (1994:216-221).

4.11 EXPLANATIONS FOR THE PHONOLOGICAL CHANGES OF ADOPTIVES

Madiba (1994:128-152) provides an in-depth discussion of some explanations within the phonological theory framework, for the phonological changes which occur in adoptives in Venda. Phonologists have taken various approaches in explaining these changes. A brief discussion of these approaches follows:

Phonetic approximation

Hyman (Madiba, 1994:130) describes this pre-structuralist approach as follows:

> The form this argument usually takes is that speakers of a language, in hearing a foreign sound replace that sound with the most closely related phonetic (or perhaps phonemic) unit in its inventory.

Evidence which acts against the acceptance of this theory, is that a particular sound segment in a source language is not always substituted by the same sound segment in more than one adopting language, i.e. French and Serbo-Croatian have different realisations of English **[θ]**, *viz.* as **[s]** and **[t]** respectively (Hyman in Madiba, 1994:131). This shows that there are other factors at work beside physical phonetic properties. The conclusion which Hyman (1970:11-12) reaches is that "foreign sound adaptation is mental in nature".

Madiba (1994:130, 131) also indicates that this theory provides a satisfactory explanation for some cases of sound substitution in Venda, but not for others.

Phonemic approximation

According to this view "foreign sounds are not reanalysed as isolated phenomena, but instead fit into the phonological system (as opposed to the phonetic system) of the borrowing language" (Hyman in Madiba, 1994:132).

Although this approach has an advantage over the purely phonetic one in the sense that it enables a distinction to be made between phonemes and allophones (i.e. between underlying and surface levels of phonological structure), it nevertheless also has shortcomings. Hyman (Madiba, 1994:133) indicates that it fails to give general explanations to the phonological processes of a language. It only describes the phonological changes which occur without showing how a speaker would actually map one linguistic system onto another (Madiba, 1994:134). This theory is thus felt to be too simplistic in trying to explain the substitution of foreign sounds by allophonic variation alone (Madiba, 1994:152).

Generative phonology

This approach, propagated by Hyman (1970) emphasises the necessity of recognising an independent level of abstract phonological representations and an ordered set of phonological rules relating these abstractions to their concrete phonetic realisations. Hyman (in Madiba, 1994:136) summarises this as follows:

> It is by recognizing a deeper level than the autonomous phonemic level and by conceptualizing the phonological component as a system of rules relating abstract underlying forms to surface phonetic realizations that borrowing can be coherently handled.

The main problem with the Generative approach is its abstractness, and the discrepancy which sometimes exists between the underlying and the surface representation (Madiba, 1994:138,139). Another problem is that this approach can only deal satisfactorily with foreign words which have been completely nativised, and not with words which have not yet been completely assimilated.

Natural Phonology

Natural phonology arises from the need to find natural or more transparent explanations of the language processes instead of using abstract rules (Madiba, 1994:140). The basis of this theory is that our innate phonetic capacity can be represented in the form of a set of very general natural processes, i.e. there is a distinction between rules and natural processes. Stampe (cf. Madiba, 1994:140), the founder of this approach, defines a phonological process as follows:

> ... a mental operation that applies in speech to substitute for a class of sounds or sound sequences presenting a specific common difficulty to the speech capacity ... an alternative class identical but lacking the difficult property.

This implies that natural processes and not rules, determine the nativisation of adopted words (see Madiba, 1994:141-144 for further discussion and examples).

This approach too has inherent problems, such as the distinction between rules and processes, ordering relationships between processes, and its exclusiveness (i.e. the exclusion of unmotivated and morphological alternatives) (Madiba, 1994:142).

Autosegmental Phonology

Autosegmental phonology was an attempt at breaking away from "the monolithic nature of uniformly segment-based theories" (Anderson in Madiba, 1994:144). Katamba (in Madiba, 1994:144) describes the differences between these theories and autosegmental phonology as follows:

> In autosegmental phonology the focus shifts to ways in which phonological rules can change the organisation of phonological representation. In autosegmental phonology, phonological representations are no longer seen as simple rows of segments, with all phonological processes taking place at one single level. Rather, they are regarded as complex arrays (in principle of independent) elements arranged on different levels or TIERS. The different levels though interconnected, are in principle autonomous.

Khumalo (1987) has employed this theory to explain some of the phonological changes which occur in Zulu adoptives (Madiba, 1994:146), establishing that the substitution of certain foreign sound segments in Zulu, is determined by the harmony process. This theory has also brought about innovations in the study of tone.

Recipient language constraints approach

This approach has been advocated by linguists such as Holden (1976), Steinbergs (1984, 1985) and Silverman (1992), who regard the phonological modifications to the adopted words as being due mainly to certain constraints in the recipient language (Madiba, 1994:153). These constraints, which include the native segment inventory constraint, the native phonotactic constraint, the native syllable structure constraint and the tonal constraint, prevent or allow the occurrence of certain foreign sounds or sound sequences in the adopting language. (For a detailed discussion of this approach, see Madiba, 1994:147-152.)

4.12 CONCLUDING REMARKS

Madiba (1994:222) concludes that the adoption of foreign words into Venda has influenced the Venda sound system in various ways, in some cases leading to the infiltration of new sounds such as [θ], [ð] and [l]. This indicates a weakening of some of the phonological constraints of Venda. Further evidence of this, is the retainment of certain foreign consonant clusters, in violation of the native phonotactic and syllable structure constraints.

However, Koopman (1994:214) points out that certain phonological structures which may not be acceptable in the early stages of language contact, do become acceptable later on, especially by educated urban speakers who have become familiar with the phonological structures of the source language(s). In some instances, there is even regional acceptance of

certain phenomena in the sense that some mother tongue speakers may use forms which are not accepted as the "norm" by mother tongue speakers in other areas. Given this, the importance of the contribution of the STANON research to the description of these phenomena, becomes even more clear.

Two, rather opposing, views, summarise attitudes towards the phonological interference discussed above. M.B. Kumalo (1988:3) states:

> IsiZulu, like all modern languages, has to adapt to new environments and new situations to remain viable. Modern isiZulu, in spite of what purists demand, cannot stagnate nor can it be made static.

Koopman (1994:154) on the other hand also quotes the following "rather wistful tone of the concluding paragraph of Nkabinde's article on foreign words in Zulu [1968:20]":

> ... the analysis of the adaptations of loan-words reveals that the European languages have left an indelible mark on Zulu. This language will never be quite the same as it was at the turn of the century.

However, Koopman's (1994:154) statement of his own approach, which follows the advice given by M.B. Kumalo (1988:3), also summarises the attitude which this report would like to convey, namely that:

> Linguists are in a position to help resolve this problem, not by being prescriptive, but by being descriptive in approach in isiZulu discourse.

The systematic description of phonological changes in adoptives presented here, represents a significant progression in the study of the modernisation of the African languages. The systematic nature of this modernisation indicates that we are not dealing with haphazard "borrowing" here. As such, the description provided here will assist teachers in understanding the "interference" phenomena which they encounter daily in their classrooms.

CHAPTER 5: MORPHOLOGICAL CHANGES

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Although the field of morphological changes in adoptives often takes a back seat to the study of phonological and semantic changes, Knappert (in Koopman, 1994:215) points out that:

> The source of a loan word is sometimes obscured when a word is reanalysed in terms of a different morphological system. For example, although the Tsonga word *xitimela* looks acceptable enough as a Bantu word, with a class 7 prefix and what looks like an extension *-ela*, yet it is a loan from English 'steamer' via Zulu. English and Afrikaans words with initial *s + consonant* are invariably remorphologised and assigned to the seventh class in Zulu ...
>
> When travelling northwards into other Bantu languages, these words retained their allegiance to the seventh noun class, and changed the prefix according to the prevailing sound-laws, so that the Shona word for 'store' became *chitoro*, which looks completely Bantu to the uninitiated, and is no longer recognisable as an English word.

The class prefix system in the African languages, is an obvious difference between these languages and European languages such as English, Afrikaans, Portuguese and French, and perhaps the most common examples of morphological interference concern the allocation of these class prefixes (Koopman, 1994:216). Various approaches to the classification of nouns in the African languages have in the past been taken by Bantu linguists. Madiba (1994:224-232) discusses three of these, *viz.* the traditional approach based mainly on the semantic content of the nouns; the approach by Denny & Creider (1986) which takes the *configurational* and *shape* meanings of nouns as point of departure; and the approach by Hendrikse & Poulos (1992) which classifies nouns according to four fundamental semantic parameters, namely *concreteness, attribution, spacial orientation,* and *abstractness*. For a detailed discussion of these approaches, the reader is referred to the subreport in question.

Other morphological changes to adoptives to be discussed in this chapter, include those concerning diminutive and locative suffixes, so-called "back formations", various forms of derivation (e.g. derivation of nouns from verbs), the formation of compounds, and morpheme gain and loss. Most of the structure for this chapter has been taken from Koopman (1994), with due thanks and recognition.

In most instances, the aim here is to provide an overview of the types of morphological changes which take place during the process of adoption. For detailed discussion of the issues at hand, the reader is referred to the various subreports which will be quoted in the course of the chapter.

It must also be mentioned that not all adoptives undergo the kinds of morphological changes described below. For instance, the allocation of adopted nouns to noun classes often occurs without prefixal interference. Madiba (1994:241) indicates, for example, that in Venda many adopted nouns are allocated to classes 1(a), 5 or 9 on the basis of the "zero prefix", i.e. the class prefix of such adoptives cannot be readily identified, and thus cannot cause

morphological interference, (this does not exclude phonological interference however). Allocation of adopted nouns to noun classes, may also be based purely on semantic content without any morphological changes taking place. Three different kinds of allocation of class prefixes to adopted nouns are therefore distinguished by Madiba, *viz.* allocation on the basis of the initial syllable resemblance to a class prefix, allocation on the basis of a zero prefix, and allocation on the basis of semantic content. The instances in which this allocation leads to morphological interference, are the focus of the section immediately below.

5.2 MORPHOLOGICAL INTERFERENCE

"Morphological interference takes place when a non-morphemic syllable in the source language is perceived as a morpheme in the receiver language, or vice-versa, when a morpheme in the source language is <u>not</u> perceived as a morpheme in the receiver language. Such interference causes considerable distortion in the morphological structure of an adoptive." (Koopman, 1994:217)

5.2.1 Prefixal interference

Source cluster /s/ to class 7 - Z. <u>isi</u>-; X. <u>si</u>-; Sc. <u>se</u>-; Ve. <u>tshi</u>-:

English and Afrikaans monomorphemic source words beginning with /sp/, /st/ or /sk/ are re-morphologised into Zulu as two morphemes, with the /s/ of the cluster becoming part of the basic class 7 prefix **si-**, (to which an initial vowel **i-** is added to form the full class prefix **isi-**), and the remaining consonant becoming the initial consonant of the stem of the adoptive. Plurals are often found in class 8, with the full prefix **izi-**, (Koopman, 1994:218). In Venda the class 8 prefix occurs as **zwi-**, and in Southern Sotho as **di-**.

Koopman (1994:219) provides the following examples for Zulu:

isi-pilingi	'spring'			pl.	**izipilingi**
isi-taladi	'street'	<	Afr. *straat*	pl.	**izitaladi**
isi-kawoti	'scout'			pl.	**izikawoti**

Kunene (in Koopman, 1994:219) gives the following examples for Southern Sotho:

se-terata	'street'	<	Afr. *straat*
se-tulô	'chair'	<	Afr. *stoel*
se-kêrê	'scissors'	<	Afr. *skêr*

Similar processes are also at work in other African languages such as Swahili. See Koopman (1994:220) for further discussion of these cases.

Zungu (1995:150,151) gives the following examples of words used in the codes and registers spoken in the GDA, which confirm this trend:

isi-hluthulelo 'bottle opener / key' < Afr. *sleutel*

isi-kulibhoyi	'male prisoner who serves as a prostitute'	<	Eng. school boy
isi-keti/kithi	'a female'	<	Eng. skirt

Madiba (1994:236) provides the following examples for Venda:

tshi-kolo	'school'	<	Afr. *skool*
tshi-kimu	'scheme'		
tshi-ṱarafu	'punishment'	<	Afr. *straf*

Source initial syllable /ma/ to class 6 - Z. ama-;

Koopman (1994:220) mentions that perhaps the best known example of interference here, is that of Eng. *monkeynut*, perceived in Zulu as **(a)ma-nkinathi**, (i.e. as a class 6 plural) with the singular form in class 5, thus **i-nkinathi**. J.S.M. Khumalo (in Koopman, 1994:220,221) explains the adoption of this word, as follows:

> When the morpheme [sic] 'monkey nuts' was adopted into Zulu as a nominal root, it so happened that the initial syllable was of the same phonetic shape as the basic noun prefix of class 6, consequently it was classified as such.

In a similar fashion, **itilosi** 'sailor' was adopted into Zulu with the plural **amatilosi**, according to D & V from Norwegian *matros* (Koopman, 1994:221).

Koopman (1994:221) gives an example of a reversal of a source initial non-morphemic /ma/ being regarded as a morpheme, in the **English** adoptive *madumbi* (also as *madoombie*) < Z. **idumbe** plur. **amadumbe**. The English adoptive takes the regular English plural: *madumbis*. Koopman indicates that in this case, the basic prefix **ma-** of the Zulu plural is perceived as being part of the stem, and is assimilated accordingly.

Source initial /b/ to class 14 - SSo. bo-; NSo. bo-:

In the case of b-cluster nouns being adopted into class 14, the /b/ becomes part of the class prefix, and the remaining consonant of the cluster becomes the initial consonant of the stem.

Koopman (1994:222) gives the following Southern Sotho examples, taken from Kunene:

bolôusu	'blouse'	<	Afr. *blous*
borôthô	'bread'	<	Afr. *brood*
bolêkê	'tin can'	<	Afr. *blik*

These nouns regularly take their plurals in class 6: **malôusu, marôthô,** and **malêkê.**

He also gives the following examples in Northern Sotho, taken from Van Warmelo:

borifi	'letter'	<	Afr. *brief*
borokgo	'trousers'	<	Afr. *broek*

No examples of this were found for Zulu, possibly because Zulu class 14 is semantically restricted to abstract nouns.

Madiba (1994:237) provides the following examples of this phenomenon for Venda:

vhurotho	'bread'	<	Afr. *brood*
vhurukhu	'trouser [sic]'	<	Afr. *broek*
vhurifhi	'letter'	<	Afr. *brief*

Source initial /ch/ to class 9 - Ve. N-:

A peculiarity of the following examples, is that the class prefix seems to be that of class 7 tshi-, but in actual fact, these adopted nouns in Venda, have been allocated to class 9 (the plural forms take the class prefix of class 10 dziN- and not that of class 8 zwi-):

tshintshi	'change'
tshisi	'cheese'
tshokoleithi	'chocolate'

Deletion of initial source vowels

Zungu (1995:161) indicates that the initial vowel of the adopted source noun is sometimes deleted when the noun is adopted into a noun class and prefixed with a noun class prefix. She gives the following examples of words which occur in the codes and registers used in the GDA:

umTopiya 'one who suffers from starvation'	<	Ethiopian
uleveni 'goat'	<	eleven
umGibhithe 'oppressor'	<	Egyptian

However, not all source initial vowels are deleted. In some instances, a glottal stop is employed between the class prefix and the adopted stem, possibly to distinguish between the two (Zungu, 1995:161). The following examples are again taken from the codes and registers in the GDA, e.g.

i-uno	'person with fat buttocks'	<	Uno (make of car with hatch-back)
i-Arabhu	'one who lives in celibacy'	<	Arab
um-Afrika	'freed prisoner'	<	Africa

5.2.2 Suffixal interference

Koopman (1994:223) distinguishes between two types of suffixal interference: that where the English (and Afrikaans) plural suffix is considered non-morphemic in Zulu adoptives, and that where a source final syllable contains a nasal which is perceived as a locative suffix.

English plural suffix

Adoptives from English source nouns which are usually found in the plural, often retain the English plural suffix in the adopted form, e.g.

isokisi	'sock'	<	Eng. socks
ihliphisi	'slipper'	<	Eng. slippers

The plurals **amasokisi** 'socks' and **amahliphisi** 'slippers', can therefore be said to have two plurals: the regular Zulu **ama-**, and the de-morphologised Eng. ***-s.***

Koopman (1994:224) indicates that many examples can be found for foodstuffs which are in effect mass nouns occurring in the singular class 3a, e.g.

utamatisi	<	tomatoes
ugilebhisi	<	grapes
ulentshisi	<	Afr. *ertjies* ('peas')

or in class 5, e.g.

ikilentshisi	<	Afr. *kluitjies* ('dumplings')

Presumed locative suffixes

Mention was made under 4.7 of syllable adjustments to adoptives, in the form of coda deletion (deletion of a final consonant in a syllable), for example in **ingadi** < *garden* and **ilokishi** < *location.*

Koopman's research (1994:224,225) indicated that in most cases, the consonant which is deleted is a nasal, leading him to state that "[i]t may well be that these examples are back-formations from perceived locatives". He mentions that this suggestion is supported by a quote from Knappert which ended with the line "... **mishe** (mission station) which ... is formed from **misheni** (mission) by removal of what looks to the Swahili like a locative suffix **-ni-**."

5.3 CLASSIFICATION OF ADOPTED NOUNS WITHOUT MORPHOLOGICAL INTERFERENCE

However, morphological interference does not always occur when adopted nouns are placed in a Bantu noun class. Madiba (1994:234-238) gives the following examples of adopted nouns in Venda, which have been allocated to specific noun classes due to initial sound resemblance without any morphological interference taking place, e.g.

Source initial /m/ to class 1 or 3 - Ve. mu-; or class 9 N-

In Venda, adopted nouns with an initial nasal /m/, are placed in one of the noun classes which has a nasal in the prefix, on the basis of initial sound resemblance. In addition, the actual class to which the noun is assigned is determined by other factors, such as semantic content, e.g.

Class 1

muṉeri	'a male missionary'	<	Afr. *meneer*

Class 3

mutshini	'machine'		
munirale	'mineral'		
moḍoro	'car'	<	Afr. *motor*

Class 9

maila	'mile'
milioni	'million'
mithara	'metre'

It appears that the class prefix is allocated on the basis of the singular form, and the plural is then allocated on the basis of the class in which the adopted noun has been placed. These adopted nouns take regular plurals, i.e. class 1 takes plurals in class 2, class 3 in class 4, and class 9 in class 10.

In the case of class 9, however, Madiba (1994:236) indicates that it is not clear why these nouns have not been allocated to class 3, as their initial syllables resemble those of the class 3 prefix.

Source initial /l/ to class 5 - Ve. li-:

ḽegere	'sweet'	<	Afr. *lekker*
ḽitha	'litre'		

However, Madiba (1994:237,238) indicates that there remain various inexplicabilities regarding the allocation of noun class prefixes to adopted nouns. The change to /ch/ mentioned above (see 5.2.1) is a case in point.

New singular-plural pairings

The effect which adoptives have on the class system of the African languages, can also be noted in regard to singular-plural pairings. Madiba (1994:264) indicates that in Venda, the traditional class pairing is sometimes affected as certain adoptives take plurals in noun classes not traditionally associated with the singular form of the adoptive, e.g.

Muṱaliana	**Maṱaliana**	'Italians'
Mudzheremane	**Madzheremane**	'Germans'
Mundevhele	**Mandevhele**	'Ndebeles'

In these examples, the class 1 adopted nouns, take plurals in class 6, whereas plurals in class 2 **vha-** would have been expected. The class 6 plural would normally take class 5 as the singular form, and Madiba indicates that the examples above may be found with the class 5 prefix, but in such instances, a derogatory significance is intended. Madiba refers to this phenomenon as a "change in singular-plural pairings", and states that "this has resulted in the emergence of new genders". He mentions that Chimhundu (Madiba, 1994:265) regards this change "as evidence of an expansion of the native class-number gender system".

5.4 BACK-FORMATIONS

Koopman (1994:225) explains that "[a] back-formation occurs when the speaker of a language is faced with a new term, wrongly perceives some morphological structure, and then by regular morphological rules, derives another new term".

The most common kind of back-formation among Zulu adoptives, is the creation of a new verb from an adopted noun on the assumption that the noun was derived from the verb in the first place (Koopman, 1994:226), for example:

uku-payisa	'to add spice to'	<	**isi-payisi**	<	spice
uku-kala	'to weigh'	<	**isi-kalo**	<	Afr. *skaal* 'scale'
uku-tilayika	'to go on strike'	<	**isi-tilayiki**	<	strike

The examples cited by Madiba (1994:256) of Venda verbs derived from adopted nouns, also show evidence of this:

-khanikha	'fix vehicles'	<	**makhanikhe**	<	mechanic
-lo̱dela	'lock'	<	**tshilo̱delo**	<	Afr. *sleutel* 'key'

It has already been mentioned that in Zulu, source nouns beginning with a *s*-cluster, lose this /s/ to the class 7 prefix **isi-**. As the stem of a deverbative noun begins with the same phoneme as that of the verb from which it is derived, e.g. **umfundi** 'scholar' and **isifundo** 'lesson' from **-fund-** 'to sing', it follows that in back-formation the new verb will begin with the same phoneme as the noun stem from which it is (wrongly) perceived to have been derived. That is how the above-mentioned verbs **payisa, kala** and **tilayika** are derived from the nouns *(s)pice, (s)kaal* and *(s)trike* respectively.

Koopman (1994:227,228) also cites various examples from Northern Sotho, and Southern Sotho, taken from Van Warmelo and Kunene respectively, e.g.

NSo.:

kôlôta	'be in debt'	<	Afr. *skuld* 'debt'
terafa	'punish'	<	Afr. *straf* 'punishment'
poka	'go about as a ghost'	<	Afr. *spook* 'ghost'

SSo.:

pêita	'syringe, spray'	<	Afr. *spuit* 'spray'
tampa	'stamp, pound'	<	Afr. *stamp* 'stamp'

pana 'inspan' < Afr. *span* 'inspan'

Koopman (1994:228) indicates that these examples of verbs derived from adoptives, in turn derived from source nouns with initial *s*-clusters, are not the only kind of back-formations found in Zulu. Other examples include back-formations which are grammatically "corrected" singulars from perceived plurals, as in the example of **inkinathi** given above (see 5.2.1). He further emphasises two important points about back-formations, *viz.* (a) that they are always formed by perfectly regular grammatical rules, and (b) that the word from which the back-formation is formed, must be perceived by the speakers of the language as being in the same language as the grammatical rule which is applied. The examples which he gives to further illustrate these points may be referenced on page 229 of his subreport.

5.5 DERIVATIONAL PROCESSES

The main difference between the processes discussed here and those illustrated above, is that back-formations are based on misperceptions, whereas the derivational processes described below have nothing to do with such misperceptions, but are perfectly regular Bantu derivations, with the minor proviso that they are based on words of foreign origin (Koopman, 1994:230).

5.5.1 Nouns derived from nouns

A distinction must be drawn here between the derivational use of noun class prefixes and derivational suffixes.

Prefixes

- churches, congregations and their practices

Koopman (1994:231) cites various examples where the "basic adoptive", characteristically in class 5, gives the denomination of the church (i.e. Catholic, Lutheran, Methodist, etc.), while derivations from the basic noun refer to members, practices, customs, etc., e.g.

i(li)-Weseli (ama-)	<	Eng.	1) the Wesleyan Church; the Methodist Church; 2) member of the Methodist Church
ubu-Weseli			customs and practices of the Wesleyan church
um-Weseli (aba-)			member of the Methodist church

- person, language and status (person in terms of nationality not character or trade)

Koopman (1994:232) gives the following examples for Zulu, stating that the basic adoptive is a class 5 noun with plural in class 6 and invariably there is a class 7 noun referring to language, customs, culture etc., e.g.

i(li)-Ngisi (ama-)	<	Eng.	Englishman, English person
isi-Ngisi			1) English characteristics; 2) English language

- fruits, trees and orchards

Koopman (1994:233, 234) indicates that a distinction can be made between
(a) a class 3 tree, and its fruit, usually in class 5 or 9, e.g. **umganu** 'marula' (*Sclerocarya caffra*) and **inganu** 'marula fruit' (also **amaganu** 'beer made from marula fruit'), and
(b) the relationship between a plant or tree usually in class 3 or 3a, and a clump, field, or grove of such plants or trees, in class 7, e.g. **umoba** 'sugar-cane', and **isimoba** 'sugar-cane field'.

- there are also various miscellaneous derivations, which show no particular patterns, except that the most common derivation from an adopted noun is the class 14 abstract noun (**ubu-** in the case of Zulu), e.g.

u-nesi	<	Eng.	nurse
ubu-nesi	<	Eng.	nursing

Suffixes

Koopman (1994:236) provides two examples of diminutive derivations from adopted nouns, *viz.* **u-sawotana** 'Epsom salts' from **u-sawoti** 'salt' (<Afr. *sout*), and **isi-molwana** 'sugar pocket (about 70 lb. weight)' from **isi-molo** '100 lb. bag or sack' (<Afr. *mud*). Koopman, however, queries the etymologies of both these pairs. He indicates that in the first instance the regular diminutive suffix **-ana** does not seem to fulfil this function, and that Doke & Nyembezi (D&N) give alternative forms for Epsom salts to D & V, namely **usota** and **usolisi**. In the second example there is no reason for the class 7 prefix, the /d/ > /l/ change is extremely unusual, and the meaning is also suspect. He comes to the conclusion that **isimolwana** is the basic adoptive, from the English *small one*, and that **isimolo**, the larger bag, has been derived from **isimolwana** by back-formation.

5.5.2 Nouns derived from adopted verbs

Typical de-verbative nominal derivation patterns include prefixing the verb root with a personal noun class prefix (i.e. class 1 **um-**) and the suffix **-i** for personal nouns, and an impersonal noun class prefix and the suffix **-o** for impersonal nouns, for example, in Zulu:

-enz-	'to do'	>	**umenzi** 'doer'	and	**isenzo** 'deed
-cul-	'to sing'	>	**umculi** 'singer'	and	**iculo** 'song'

The same applies to nouns derived from adopted verbs, such as **umdansi** 'dancer' and **umdanso** 'dance', from **uku-dansa** 'to dance'.

Sometimes more than one impersonal noun can be derived from the same adopted verb, e.g.

isibhako	'baking pan'	<	**uku-bhaka** 'to bake'
umbhako	'a baking, thing baked'		

umbhaki 'baker'

In other cases an adopted verb only has one related noun, which can be personal or impersonal, e.g.

umwini 'winner'	<	**uku-wina** 'to win'
ijoyini 'recruited labour'	<	**uku-joyina** 'take a contract, become a labour recruit'

Some adopted verbs have two unrelated meanings, and each of these may give rise to derived nouns, e.g.

uku-reka	'to rake'	>	**ireki** 'rake'
uku-reka	'to play rag-time music'	>	**umreki** 'dancer of rag-time'
		>	**umreko** 'rag-time music'

5.5.3 Verbs derived from adopted nouns

Koopman (1994:238) indicates that this is not a regular derivational process in Zulu, and only occurs with adopted nouns. Examples of such verbs have already been given under "Back-formations" above, but not all verbs derived from adoptives are derived from mutilated adoptives, e.g.

Zulu:

uku-bhuluka	'wear, put on trousers'	<	**ibhulukwe** 'trousers' (< Afr. *broek*)
uku-farisa	'act the hypocrite'	<	**umfarisi** 'Pharisee, hypocrite'

Venda:

-thotsha	'shed torch light on something'	<	**thotshi** 'torch'
-sondaha	'attend Sunday church service'	<	**Sondaha** 'Sunday'
-phuraivetha	'work as an unqualified teacher'	<	**phuraivethe** 'private'

However, because the derivational rule is the same for these derivatives and back-formations, and because the verb so derived is one which does not have an equivalent counterpart in the language which provided the original source noun, (for example English does not have the verb ******to Phariss*, and Afrikaans does not have the verb ******om te broek*), Koopman (1994;238) contends that all verbs derived from adopted nouns are back-formations.

5.5.4 Verbs derived from adopted verbs

Madiba (1994:255) cites various examples of Venda verbs which have been derived from adopted verbs, e.g.

-vhereg-	'work'	<	Afr. *werk*
-dzhoin-	'join'	<	Eng. *join*
-harag-	'rake'	<	Afr. *hark*

Most, but not all, adopted verbs have a full potential for extensions, for example, **uku-fasa** 'to fasten' (< Afr. *vas*), is shown in D & V as having the potential for the passive **faswa**, the neuter **faseka**, the applied **fasela**, the reciprocal **fasana**, the causative **fasisa**, the intensitive **fasisisa** and the diminutive **fasafasa** (Koopman, 1994:239). However, **farisa** 'act as a hypocrite' for example, only has potential for the passive, the applied and the causative. The same goes for adopted verbal roots in Venda (Madiba, 1994:257).

Koopman (1994:240) indicates that D & V make special entries for certain verbs with related verbal derivations, because of "some unusual idiomatic change of meaning". Certain verbs with the **applied extension**, for instance have two meanings, the first in each case being the basic meaning of the applied extension (i.e. indicating an action done on behalf of someone), and then a second meaning which in each case is idiomatic and individual, e.g.

kulufela 'turn a screw for' < **kulufa** 'turn a screw'
idiomatic usage: 'screw something hard or tight'

sayinela 'sign on behalf of' < **sayina** 'sign'
idiomatic usage: 'forge a signature', 'forge initials on a work ticket'

Likewise, the meaning of the **reciprocal extension** is retained in some verbs, e.g. **phushana** 'press upon one another' from **phusha**. In verbs such as **pilingana** 'run along bucking', 'turn one somersault after another' from **pilinga** 'buck, turn somersault', and in **telebana** 'trot in competition' from **telebela** 'trot', **-an-** seems to have taken on a meaning of "extended continuation of action" (Koopman, 1994:241).

Also, the regular use of the **causative extension**, **-is-** can be seen in **bhasobhisa** 'cause to take care of' from **bhasobha** 'take care of, watch over' (< Afr. *pas op*), and **sayinisa** 'cause to sign' from **sayina** 'sign'. Again, these words show a slight idiomatic shift in the meanings 'warn' and 'bring about an agreement' respectively.

Koopman (1994:241) indicates that although the "reverse" derivation is not found productively in Zulu, Van Warmelo cites examples of this process in Northern Sotho, e.g.

-kurufolla 'screw out'	< **-kurufela**	<	**sekurufu**	< Afr. *skroef* 'screw'
-notlolla 'unlock'	< **-notlêla**	<	**senotlelo**	< Afr. *sleutel* 'key'

5.5.5 Combinations of derivations

Koopman (1994:242) also gives some examples of "sets" of derivations, i.e. "where adopted nouns have given rise to adopted verbs which in turn have given rise to adopted nouns, and various other combinations of nominal and verbal derivations based on a single adoptive." One such example is the noun **umtilayiki** 'one on strike' (from the English noun *strike*) which was adopted via the verb **uku-tilayika** 'to go on strike', which is a back-formation from **isitilayiki**. Further examples of such combinations of derivations appear in Koopman (1994:242,243).

5.5.6 The suffix -isha

Although not appearing in any Southern Bantu grammar book, Koopman (1994:244) indicates that this suffix seems to be solidly established in adoptive verbs, e.g.

Zulu:

uku-phakisha	'pack'
uku-kopisha	'copy'
uku-layisha	'load' (< Afr. *laai*)

Xhosa (Thipa, 1989:106):

suwisha	'sue'
khonsiderisha	'consider'
phripherisha	'prepare'

Northern Sotho (Van Warmelo in Koopman, *op. cit.*):

békérisha	<	**bereka**	'work'
patélisha	<	**patéla**	'pay'

(Note that the Northern Sotho examples do have a causative meaning and that it is likely that the **-ish-** suffix which appears here, is in fact the old orthography of the causative suffix **-iš-**.)

Koopman (1994:244) concludes that this is a general "verb-forming suffix", in which case the shape should be **-ish-**, and not **-isha**, in line with the other derivational suffixes.

5.6 COMPOUNDING

Gleason (in Koopman, 1994:245) states that "some stems or words contain two or more roots, and are said to be **compound**". The application of this definition to adoptives in Zulu, leads Koopman to distinguish three categories of compounds:

(a) those which are *clearly compounds*, on the basis of having two distinct lexemes, e.g. **iphephandaba** 'newspaper' consisting of the adoptive noun **iphepha** 'paper' and **indaba** 'news';

(b) those which are *clearly not compounds* on the basis of having no distinct lexemes, e.g. **ikholitayi** 'coal-tar' - although the separate elements for 'coal' and 'tar' are clearly evident, neither /koli/ nor /tayi/ exist as separate morphemes or lexemes in Zulu, with the result that this word cannot be considered a compound; and

(c) those which *present a problem* in classification in having one distinct lexeme in the stem, coupled with another element, at this stage unidentifiable, e.g. **inyuziphepha** 'newspaper' in which the two elements /nyuzi/ and /iphepha/ are clearly related to 'news' and 'paper', but only **iphepha** stands on its own as a separate lexeme. Words such as this can be compared to the English words *strawberry*, and *raspberry*, in which the second half of each word consists of the morpheme *berry* which also occurs as a separate word with the same meaning. The first elements of these compounds (/straw-/, /rasp-/), however, only occur in these words. (The separate words 'straw' and 'rasp' presumably have nothing to do with the initial elements of 'strawberry' and 'raspberry'.) (Koopman, 1994:246)

5.6.1 Compounds with adoptives

Koopman (1994:246-249) only cites one example consisting of two adopted lexemes, *viz.* Z. **ukhalilayisi** 'curry-and-rice'.

Many examples (Zulu), however, have one adopted element in the stem, e.g.

isifundabhishobhi 'bishopric, diocese' < **isifunda** 'district' + **umbhishobhi** 'bishop'
indizamshini 'aeroplane' < **ndiza** 'to fly' + **umshini** 'machine'
isigaxamabhande 'officer, person in uniform' < **gaxa** 'tie round' + **amabhande** 'belts'
umgadisiqiwu 'game-ranger' < **umgadi** 'guard' + **isiqiwu** 'game reserve'
iMeneja-Jikelele 'General Manager' < **imeneja** 'manager' + **jikelele** 'of going right around'

5.6.2 Non-compounds from source compounds

In certain instances, syllabic groups are related to the particular lexemes of the source compound, but do not constitute either separate morphemes or lexemes in Zulu, or if such morphemes are found in Zulu, they do not relate to the syllable sequences of these adoptives. For example, in **ibhilidokwe** 'bulldog', the sequence /bhili/ can be found as a morpheme in the stem of **um-bhili** 'magician', and the sequence /dokwe/ can be found in the stem **i-dokwe** 'type of porridge', but because these are obviously unrelated to the sequences /bhili/ and /dokwe/ in **ibhilidokwe**, this word cannot be a compound (Koopman, 1994:249).

5.6.3 Near-compounds

The example of **inyuziphepha** has already been given above, as an example of a stem which contains an identifiable morpheme which occurs as a separate lexeme compounded with an unidentifiable syllable sequence which does not occur separately. Koopman (1994:250) cites various further examples, such as **ikilesibhande** 'braces' (< Afr. *kruisbande*), where **ibhande** 'belt' occurs separately, but not /kilesi/; and **isosipani** 'saucepan', where **ipani** is found as a separate word with the meaning 'pan', but **isosi** (more usually **isosa**) is only found separately with the meaning 'saucer'.

5.6.4 Modern compounds

Languages are all continually expanding their lexicons by means of coinages. Koopman (1994:252) also gives some examples of compound nouns which have been coined from existing parts of speech in Zulu, i.e. without adoption of "foreign" words:

umtholampilo 'clinic' < **thola** 'to obtain' + **impilo** 'life, health'
umthokozisingemilingo 'juggler' < **umthokozisi** 'one who makes happy' + **ngemilingo** 'by means of tricks'
umkhumbimkhathi 'spacecraft' < **umkhumbi** 'boat, ship' + **umkhathi** 'space'

umlalisaphansi 'knock-out punch' < **lalisa** 'make lie' + **phansi** 'down'

5.7 MORPHEME GAIN AND LOSS

5.7.1 Morpheme gain

Examples of morpheme gain in Zulu, mainly concern the addition of the formatives **-ma-**, **-no-**, and **-so-**. Koopman (1994:255) indicates that although some linguists regard nouns incorporating these formatives as compounds on the grounds that these are "abbreviated nouns", the original nouns from which these formatives have been derived have become "semantically bleached" over the years, losing their original meanings and relegating the former lexemes to morphemes. For this reason, Koopman treats nouns like **umasiteshi** and **umasitende** under the heading "morpheme gain", rather than "compounding".

The formative ***-ma-***

In these two examples, the formative **-ma-** with the meaning "characteristic of" is added to the adoptives **isiteshi** 'station' and **isitende** 'stand', in addition to the separation of the source *s*-cluster into class 7 prefix and noun stem, and the addition of a further morpheme, namely the class 1a noun prefix.

The formative ***-no-***

Koopman (1994:256) indicates that the formative **-no-**, which has the specific meaning of 'female' in Zulu personal names of class 1a, does not have this meaning in the class 3a words in Zulu which refer to animals, birds and insects, and this meaning is also absent in modern coinages, such as **unompempe** 'referee' (< **impempe** 'whistle'), and **unozinti** 'goalkeeper' (< **izinti** 'posts, poles').

Thipa (1989:123-125) also cites examples from Xhosa, some of which refer to females, others to males and yet others to either males or females, e.g.

unongendi	'nun'	(female)
unodipha	'dipping foreman'	(male)
unompilo	'health worker'	(male or female)

Examples of adoptives prefixing **-no-** are **unovenkili** 'shopkeeper' (< Afr. *winkel*) and **unoteksi** 'taxi-owner' (Koopman, 1994:257).

The formative ***-so-***

Koopman (1994:257) explains that "[t]he formative **-so-**, according to Doke [1971:81] is an abbreviation of **uyihlo** 'thy father', a meaning still recognisable in **uSomandla** 'The Almighty' and **uSokulunga** 'The Alrighteous' ... **-So-** is regularly used in forming new nouns in Zulu, such as **uSomlomo** 'Mr. Speaker' (< **umlomo** 'mouth') and **usonhlalakahle** 'social worker', based on the compound formed from **hlala** 'live' and **kahle** 'well'."

Examples of **-so-** prefixed to adopted stems in Zulu, include:

usokhemese	'pharmacist'
usomabhizinisi	'business man/-woman'
usomawholesaler	(from a noun which has not been totally assimilated into Zulu)

5.7.2 Morpheme loss

Kunene (in Koopman, 1994:258) explains morpheme loss in terms of Southern Sotho adoptives, as follows:

> Sometimes an adjective normally associated with a given noun is eventually used as a noun to represent the whole of the idea conveyed, in the original language, by the adjective and noun together. For example, *condensed milk* has become **khondênse**, *lodger's permit* is **lotjase**, *special pass* is **sepêshêlê**, and *mental arithmetic* is **mmênthêlê**.

Koopman cites similar examples in Zulu, e.g. **umawunde** < *mounted policeman*. In the example **ikwathapheya** 'avocado', however, /avo/ has been deleted and the unnecessary 'pear' retained. Whether this can be called "morpheme loss" is debatable, although it may be argued that the abbreviated form 'avo' fully expresses the meaning of 'avocado', and is in that sense morphemic.

Other examples of loss of words during the adoptive process, are **ibenzi** < *Mercedes Benz* and **upokisi** < *smallpox*. Koopman indicates that the former example is likely to be a general African form, as Swahili also has the word **wabenzi** which is becoming used in South African English newspapers, with the meaning of "fat cat government officials who drive around in Mercedes Benzes at the expense of the taxpayer" (Koopman, 1994:259).

The only example which Koopman could find of the loss of a morpheme and not of words or phrases, or non-morphemic syllables from words, is that of **uwositiki** 'walking stick' which has lost the present participial suffix from the original.

Clearly, there are many more examples of gain (morphological, phonetic and semantic) in (Zulu) adoptives, than of losses.

5.8 NEOLOGISMS

Thipa (1989:114-126) discusses various examples of neologisms in Xhosa. Most of these are derivations of standard Xhosa words, which have been coined in an attempt to express new (modern) ideas or terminology in Xhosa. Although the issues discussed under this section differ from those above in the sense that this section does not only deal with adoptives, this discussion has nevertheless been included here, as many of the processes involved in coining neologisms are morphological in nature. Furthermore, neologisms are a feature of a language extending its lexicon in order to keep up with developments in its environment.

5.8.1 Deideophonic neologisms

Ideophones may be used to coin new words, e.g.

ibhanyabhanya	'bioscope'
inkamnkam	'old age pension'
amashwamshwam	'crispy chips'

All three these terms are rural Xhosa terms as the adoptives **ibhayiskoph** or **ifilim**; **ipeyi** or **udanki**; and **itshiphs** are used in urban Xhosa to convey these meanings. The meanings conveyed by these deideophones retain some of the original meaning of the ideophone, for example in **ibhanyabhanya** the duplication of the ideophone **bhanyabhanya** has the effect of enhancing the rapidity of the movement of a picture on the screen. In the second example, the ideophone conveys a meaning of 'receiving something without much effort', which is how a pension is regarded, i.e. as a "soft" option. The duplication of the ideophone imitating the sound made by the crisps when they are eaten in the third example, serves to reinforce the idea of the crispness of the chips.

5.8.2 Deverbatives

Deverbatives can also be used to coin new terms. The following terms are standard Xhosa terms used in urban as well as rural areas, e.g.

isiqholo	'deodorant'	<	**qhola** 'preserve, make ... smell sweet'
umsasazi	'radio announcer'	<	**sasaza** 'sow seed'
isigcayiseli	'limpet mine'	<	**gcayisela** 'trap, ensnare'

5.8.3 Verbal extensions

Causative

The Xhosa neologisms which Thipa cite as being formed by using the causative extension, are commonly used on the radio and television, and in the press. They are standard and more commonly used in urban areas, e.g.

isinambithisi	'that which gives flavour'	<	**nambitha** 'enjoy the taste of'
isiyobisi	'that which causes dizziness, drug'	<	**yoba** 'be dizzy'

Thipa mentions that the term **isinambithisi** is not used frequently as the preference seems to be for the adoptive as the name of the actual "flavourers", e.g.

i-aromat	'aromat'
i-tomato sauce	'tomato sauce'

Causative + Passive

umphathiswa	'cabinet minister'	<	**phatha** 'rule'
inkulubaphathiswa	'chief minister'	<	**inkulu** 'eldest son' + **ba + phatha+ -is- + -w- + -a**; /ba/ < possessive formative /yaba/ 'of'

5.8.4 Compounds

Deverbative noun + noun

ubhukuqo-mbuso	'coup'	<	**u + bhukuqa** 'overturn' + **umbuso** 'government'
umongameli-mbuso	'state president'	<	**um + ongamela** 'rule over, govern' + **umbuso** 'government'

Both of these words are standard Xhosa and are used in rural as well as in urban areas.

*Deverbative noun + **jikelele** 'general'*

umlawuli-jikelele	'director general'	<	**lawula** 'govern, rule' + **jikelele**
umtshutshisi-jikelele	'attorney general'	<	**tshutshisa** 'prosecute' + **jikelele**

The examples belong to urban Xhosa. Although **umtshutshisi** 'prosecutor' is a familiar term in rural areas, **umtshutshijikelele** is not. Urban Xhosa, also tends to use the borrowed versions of these terms.

Noun + noun

inkulumbuso	'prime minister'	<	**inkulu** 'eldest' + **umbuso** 'government'
igunyabantu	'tribal authority'	<	**igunya** 'authority' + **abantu** 'people'

Both these terms are standard Xhosa and used in rural as well as urban areas, with tribal authorities being a rural institution.

Noun + qualifier

amazwe azimeleyo	'independent states/countries'
indlu yowiso-mthetho	'legislative assembly'

The qualifiers are underlined. The latter example means literally: 'a house for laying down the law', and is also popularly known as **ipalamente** 'parliament'. Current political developments are clearly becoming part of Xhosa life, with the result that political terminology is erupting into the vocabulary of the language.

5.9 CONCLUSION

In this chapter we have seen how source words have adapted to the morphological systems of the African languages. One such adaptation concerned the changes made to the European system of plural suffixes in terms of the Bantu system of singular and plural noun class prefixes. The minor confusions caused by these adaptations are what Koopman calls "morphological interference".

Although not discussed at length above, the allocation of noun class prefixes to adoptives based on resemblances in initial sound segments, has several consequences for the semantic classification of nouns. Madiba (1994:239-246) discusses these in detail.

An indication has also been given of the manner in which nouns adapt to the new behaviour patterns of the African languages, e.g. back-formations where the regular grammatical rules of the African languages are applied to items which the speakers believe to be "part of their linguistic heritage" (Koopman, 1994:261).

Reference was also made to derivational morphemes in the African languages which allow the creation of nouns from verbs, verbs from ideophones, etc., and the applicability of these morphemes to adopted nouns and verbs, was also shown.

Other extremely productive derivational processes for the creation of new nouns in Zulu, i.e. compounding elements from various parts of speech and the process of prefixing the formatives **-so-**, **-no-** and **-ma-**, were also illustrated.

The following words of Van Warmelo (Koopman, 1994:248) also summarise the attempts made within the STANON programme to shed more light on the processes involved in language change:

> But many other [foreign words] have come to stay ... The etymology of a number of these words will then in many cases remain obscure, if it is not cleared up now, while we can still trace it. Even today the derivation of imported forms often remains a puzzle.

The fact that these words were written in 1927, highlights the necessity of the type of research presented in this report.

CHAPTER 6: SYNTACTICAL CHANGES

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The study of syntax is concerned with the structure of the sentence. A broad theoretical definition of a "sentence" is given by Crystal (in Thipa, 1989:80) as follows:

> The largest STRUCTURAL UNIT in terms of which the GRAMMAR of a LANGUAGE is organized.

The aim of this chapter is not to present a theoretical discussion of syntax, but rather to analyse syntactical changes in the African languages which are brought about by language contact.

6.2 THE STRUCTURE OF THE SENTENCE IN THE AFRICAN LANGUAGES

The structure of the sentence in terms of word order, does not vary much from one African language to another. Thipa (1989:81) indicates that the characteristics of the word order of African languages, are as follows:

- an SVO (subject, verb, object) structure
- an absence of prepositions
- the noun precedes its qualifying adjective, genitive (possessive) and relative.

The above-mentioned SVO structure can of course be altered, as is evident in the following Xhosa examples (Thipa, 1989:82):

bayambona	(they see him / her)	SOV
sibakhalimile	(we rebuked them)	SOV

6.2.1 The ordering of sentence constituents

As mentioned above, the ordinary ordering of the constituents of a simple sentence with transitive verbs in declarative and interrogative sentences is SVO. Thipa (1989:82,83) indicates that **both urban and rural varieties of Xhosa display this structure**, and gives the following examples of Xhosa sentences to illustrate this:

Ititshala ibuza umbuzo.	'The teacher is asking a question'	(**rural** Xhosa)
Ititshala ibuza umbuzo?	'Is the teacher asking a question?'	(**rural** Xhosa)
USipho urejistarisha ikhosizi.	'Sipho is registering courses'	(***urban*** Xhosa)
Abatshana babhukishe ikhol?	'Have the nephews booked the call?'	(***urban*** Xhosa)

Thipa (1989:85) indicates that auxiliary verbs also function similarly in rural and urban Xhosa, i.e. they precede the main verb regardless of whether this verb is standard Xhosa or an adoption, e.g.

Ndikhe ndimbone. (standard Xhosa)
'I sometimes see him.'

Sikhe sigrosare sishophishe nokushophisa. (***urban*** Xhosa)
'We sometimes do groceries and shopping as well.'

6.2.2 Variations in sentence structure

Thipa (1989:86-88) discusses two ways in which sentence order may be changed,

(a) by the postponing of the subject, and
(b) by the preposing of the object.

In both instances, he indicates that there is no difference between the structures in rural and urban Xhosa, for example:

(a) *postponing of the subject* as happens with transitive verbs where the subject follows the object, e.g.

VOS: **Uhlafuna ukutya umntwana** (**rural** Xhosa)
'The child is chewing food'

Ugaranta isimodeni umdanisi (***urban*** Xhosa)
'The dancer guarantees the modern way of doing things'

(b) *preposing of the object*, e.g.

SOV: **Ummangalelwa ityala uyalivuma** (**rural** Xhosa)
'The accused admits guilt'

OVS: **Ityala uyalivuma ummangalelwa** (**rural** Xhosa)
'The accused admits guilt'

SOV: **Imeya amabhunga oluntu iyawavotela** (***urban*** Xhosa)
'The mayor is voting for community councils'

OVS: **Amabhunga oluntu iyawavotela imeya** (***urban*** Xhosa)
'The mayor votes for community councils'

It appears, therefore, that no difference exists between rural and urban Xhosa in the basic word order of sentences or in the ordering of sentence constituents. No difference seems to exist in the variability of the ordering of these constituents either (Thipa, 1989:91).

6.3 CONCORDIAL AGREEMENT

A distinction can be made between the use of "incorrect" concords, and the use of foreign concords.

6.3.1 "Incorrect" concords

Madiba (1994:247) indicates that the incorporation of adopted nouns into Venda, affects the language's concordial agreement system. He notes that there does not seem to be a fixed correlation between the adopted noun and the concordial agreement which it generates, and that the agreement concords seem mainly to be determined by semantic factors rather than by syntactic factors, e.g.

Mapholisa u bva ḓuvha ḽa mulovha vha vhukati na u ṱoḓa muthu we a vhulaha munna-wa-vhaṋe Vho-Ramalida, rabulasi a ḓivheaho Seshego hoṱhe.
'The police have since yesterday been busy looking for a man who has killed the late Vho-Ramalida, a well-known farmer throughout Seshego.'

Mapholisa a Soviet Union madekwe vho fara muriphabuliki muḓivhalea a kha ḓi bvaho u bviswa tshiduloni.
'The police in Russia last night arrested a well-known republican who has been ousted from his position just recently.'

In the first example, the subject concord **vha** (class 2) is used to bring about agreement between the antecedent **mapholisa** (class 6) and the predicate **vhukati**, instead of the expected subject concord of class 6, *viz.* **a**, as in the second example above. In the second example, the subject concord **a** (class 6) occurs as expected, but the concord **vho** (class 2) instead of **o** (class 6), again does not correspond with the noun class prefix of the adoptive. The other adoptives in these examples, *viz.* **rabulasi**, and **muriphabuliki** have, however, been used with concords which correspond to their noun classes.

Madiba (1994:247) posits that the use of concords is sometimes determined by what the speaker wants to convey, therefore, the concord **vha** is used to show that although the adoptive noun **mapholisa** has been allocated to class 6, it still denotes human beings. The concords of classes 1 or 2 may therefore be employed in order to show respect for **mapholisa** as human beings, while the concords of classes 5 or 6 will often be used to express the derogatory connotation frequently attached to the police. Madiba indicates, however, that this phenomenon is not unique to adopted nouns, but also occurs with certain native nouns in Venda. Examples of this are given on page 248 of his subreport.

6.3.2 Foreign concords

Due to language contact between Venda and other African languages such as Shona, Tsonga and Northern Sotho, concords and tense markers from other African languages sometimes occur in Venda (Madiba, 1994:249), e.g.

Pembela **ndi ku pe nombe** (from the folktale **Mukukulume na dongololo**)
'Dance excitedly so that I should give you cattle'

Vho ḓo sala **vha no thenga** zwavho (from the folktale **Mukegulu we a vha a sa funi ṅwana wawe a tshi mala**)
'They will remain enjoying with me'

Vhomme **vha ka enda pi** (from the song **Funguvhu**)
'Where the mother have gone to? [sic]'

In the first example, the concord marker **ku** from Shona is used instead of the Venda concord **u**. The second example contains the Shona present tense marker **no**, while the third example contains the Shona past tense marker **ka**. According to Madiba (1994:249) the use of the latter two formatives, is the result of intensive contact with the Lembethu who inhabited the area before the Venda, and also characterise the Venda spoken in areas such as Tshikundamalema and Manenzhe. These phenomena often occur in riddles, proverbs, songs and folktales.

Indications of the influence of Tsonga and Northern Sotho on Venda appear in examples such as:

A ndo ma vheya hafha. (cf. Tsonga: **A ndzi ma** vekile laha)
'I had put them here'

Gi tswenya vhanna khoroni (cf. NSo.: **Ke tshwênya** banna kgorong)
'I am bothering the men in court'

Wena u nwile mafhi (cf. NSo.: **Wena o** nwelê maswi)
'You drank the milk'

In the first example, the use of the concord **ma** and constructions such as **a ndo ma** (and elsewhere also **a ndzi**), indicate the influence of Tsonga. The second and third examples indicate influence from Northern Sotho, in terms of the concord **Gi** (cf. NSo. **ke**) instead of Venda **ndi**; the pronoun **wena** instead of Venda **ene**; and the use of the perfect tense suffix **-ile** in **nwile**.

Khumalo (1995:104) indicates instances of such use of foreign concords in Daveyton. The example which she cites is of a Zulu verb stem with Ndebele subject concord and rendition of the progressive formative **sa**, *viz.*

sekehambile 'he has left' instead of standard Zulu **usehambile**.

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In Daveyton one also finds Zulu verb stems with Sotho subject concords and present tense markers, as in the following example:

ke a dlala 'I am playing' < **ke a** (< Sotho) + **dlala** (< Zulu)

6.4 ADJECTIVAL AGREEMENT

Madiba (1994:251,252) indicates that there is a strong tendency to adopt certain terms such as those which refer to colours, into Venda. Although some of these terms have native counterparts, the tendency is to employ the adopted words rather than the native ones. However, unlike the native colour terms which are adjectival stems and occur with an adjectival concord, e.g. **mutswuku** < **mu** (adjectival concord) + **-tswuku** (adjectival stem), the adopted colour forms do not feature the adjectival concord, even when they occur with nouns which have overtly marked prefixes, e.g.

Vhathu vha vhanna a vha koni u fhambanya muvhala mutswuku na wa pinki. U ḓo pfa muthu a tshi ndo ambara vhurukhu vhutswuku ngeno o ambara meruni. Vhanwe vho ambara tshikhipha tsha girini u ḓo pfa vha tshi ri vho ambara buluu. Khavho buluu na girini zwi a fana ndi muvhala mudala.
'Men do not distinguish between red and pink colours. You will hear a man saying he has put on a red trouser [sic], yet the trouser is pink [sic]. Some claim that they have put on green skippers [type of shirt/T-shirt] whereas they have put on blue ones. To them blue and green is one and the same colour.'

In this example it is clear that adopted words such as **pinki, meruni, girini** and **buluu**, do not show adjectival concords, while the native adjectives such as **mutswuku** and **mudala**, do have the adjectival concords which are similar to the class prefixes of the nouns which they qualify.

6.5 ADVERBS AND LOCATIVES

On the other hand, Madiba (1994:259) indicates that adoptives which function in the formation of **adverbs** and **locatives** in Venda, **do** take the same adverbial prefixes and locative prefixes and suffixes that native words take in these positions, e.g.

Vele o kwasha tombo nga hamula (< Afr. *hamer*) (use of adverbial prefix **nga**)
'Vele broke the stone with a hammer'

Vhatukana vha khou ya ḓoroboni (< Afr. *dorp*) (use of locative suffix **-ni**)
'The boys are going to town'

Mulalo o dzula kha bola (< Eng. ball) (use of locative prefix **kha**)
'Mulalo has sat on a ball'

According to Madiba (1994:260) the most noteworthy influence of foreign languages in the category of adverbs, is that of the adoptive adverb **badi** (< Eng. *bad*). This adverb is used to

express the notion of **very** or **much** (instead of the Venda form **-nga maanḓa**). Apart from a shift in meaning, this adoptive adverb is also used without adverbial prefixes, e.g.

Musidzana uyu o naka <u>badi</u>.
'This lady is very beautiful'

Mulovha o ḽa maswiri <u>badi</u>.
'Yesterday we ate oranges very much [sic].'

Another adopted adverb often employed in Venda is **futhi** which has been adopted from Zulu (Madiba, 1994:261). In Venda it can be used as an adverb (or a conjunction) and conveys a repetition of the meaning expressed by the verb, e.g.

Banzi ḽo farwa <u>futhi</u> nga mapholisa.
'Banzi was arrested again by the police.'

Ndi ḓo ḓa <u>futhi</u> matshelo.
'I will come again tomorrow.'

Madiba (*op. cit.*) indicates that "[a]lthough there is some reluctance by the Venda language planning bodies to recognize this word as part of the language, it is used so frequently that it cannot be ignored".

6.6 CONJUNCTIVES

Examples of adopted conjunctives include **mara** 'but' (< Afr. *maar*), **ende** (< Eng. *and*) and **futhi** 'moreover' (< Z. *futhi*), e.g.

Ema ndo mu mala, <u>mara</u> a thi mu funi. Nda funa ndi nga mu ṱala, <u>ende</u> ha ngo funzea. Vhabebi vhanga <u>futhi</u> a vha mu funi.
'I married Ema, but I do not love her. I may divorce her if I want, and she is not educated. My parents, moreover, do not like her.'

Madiba (1994:262) indicates that these conjunctives have native counterparts, but are mostly used because speakers wish to display their knowledge of languages such as English, Afrikaans and Zulu, i.e. they are used for reasons of prestige.

Zungu (1995:145) also indicates that urban varieties of the African languages, for example the codes and registers spoken in the GDA, employ a host of foreign language conjunctives and that many of these function merely as fillers, e.g. **so, but, and, then, because, now, therefore, shame, okay, you know, hey man,** etc.

One also finds many terms of address used in this manner (i.e. as fillers), e.g.
sir, madam, ma, brother, sister, uncle, meneer, chief, etc.

6.7 CODESWITCHING

6.7.1 The nature of codeswitching

Codeswitching (CS) can be defined as "the alternate use of two languages by the same speaker during the same speech event" (Lehiste in Calteaux, 1994:24). Myers-Scotton (1979:71) states that "when many members of a society can speak more than one language, switching between two or more languages in the same conversation is a common phenomenon".

Although different opinions have been expressed regarding the **nature** of codeswitching, research by linguists such as Myers-Scotton (1992a, 1992b, 1993) and Lance (Lehiste, 1988:23) has indicated that codeswitching is not random. Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language Framework (MLF) model, proposes various constraints and rules which govern codeswitching and indicate that CS is not merely random mixing of languages.

Briefly, this MLF model (Finlayson, *et al.*, forthcoming) states that:

- One language plays a more dominant structural role than the others in CS, and that language is called the Matrix language (ML). The ML supplies the grammatical frame of mixed constituents. The other language(s) are called the Embedded Language(s) (ELs).
- There is a division between what the model calls content vs. system morphemes in terms of restrictions on their occurrence.
- The relevant unit of analysis in intrasentential CS is the CP (i.e. Complement Phrase or S-Bar). A CP is a syntactic structure headed by an element in COMP position, although the element is often null. The CP is a more precise unit than either the sentence or the clause (and is a later development in this model).
- Three types of CS may be distinguished, *viz.* (a) ML + EL constituents (also known as mixed constituents) which consist of morphemes from two (or more) languages; (b) ML islands consisting entirely of morphemes from the ML; and (c) EL islands consisting entirely of EL morphemes.

The content morphemes referred to above, are defined in terms of their thematic role assigning properties (they either receive or assign thematic roles), and would typically be nouns, descriptive adjectives, verbs and some prepositions. System morphemes on the other hand, do not assign or receive thematic role and are mostly defined by [+quantification]. Typical system morphemes would be verbal inflections and determiners, and some prepositions. Further discussion of this model lies beyond the scope of this report. Its importance for the study of codeswitching is, however, immeasurable, so that future study of this phenomenon must take this model into consideration. For more detail on the constraints and hypotheses which make up the MLF model, refer to Myers-Scotton (1992a:19-39).

6.7.2 The functions of CS

The **functions** of CS have also been debated with linguists such as Rowlands (Thipa, 1989:107) being of the opinion that CS functions

> either to express ideas with which the vocabulary of Yoruba cannot cope or sometimes merely to convey some nuance or particular shade of meaning which is felt to be lacking in Yoruba words which at first sight one would think to be perfectly adequate.

Others, such as Salami (Thipa, *op. cit.*) however, consider CS to be "the consequence of the native speaker's unfamiliarity with, or ignorance of, an appropriate word", i.e. the speaker has no choice but to switch to the language with which he seems to be more familiar.

Myers-Scotton (1979:71), however, is of the opinion that CS "often takes place because the switcher recognizes that the use of either of two languages has its values in terms of the rewards and costs which accrue to the user. The switcher chooses a 'middle road' in terms of possible rewards and decides to use both languages in a single conversation." For instance, use of one variety may distinguish the speaker as a "common" person without pretensions, whereas use of another may establish the person's identity as educated and/or economically successful. The speaker may therefore codeswitch between these two varieties in an attempt to maintain his image as both unpretentious and educated (Calteaux, 1994:25). Myers-Scotton (1979:85) states that such CS occurs with the same purpose in every multilingual society. "The only real variable is the precise values attached to the languages involved in terms of costs and rewards." In this sense, CS is essentially about **language choice**.

This function is aptly illustrated by Ntshangase (1993:92) when he indicates that the speakers of Iscamtho (in Soweto) are likely to switch between Iscamtho and Afrikaans in their dealings with the police as it is a known fact that when one is in trouble with the police, the use of Afrikaans is most likely to bring you a pardon. Ntshangase illustrates this with a rather lengthy conversation on pages 92 and 93 of his subreport.

CS says something about the linguistic competence of speakers. It has already been illustrated in Chapter 3, that most urban speakers are competent in more than one language (or variety). Although Thipa (1989:109) does not state this categorically, his discussion of CS seems to indicate that it is mainly confined to urban Xhosa. He gives the following examples of CS between Xhosa and English:

Loo lecturer **i**-clear **kuba iya**rida.
'That lecturer is clear-headed because he reads.'

Ndiza kufika late **kuloo** party. **Ndise**-busy.
'I shall arrive late at that party. I am still busy.'

In standard Xhosa, these sentences would have been rendered as follows:

Loo titshala inolwazi kuba iyafunda.

Andizi kukhawuleza ndifike kwelo theko. Ndisaxakekile.

Ntshangase (1993:88) makes the important point that CS cannot be understood outside the social context of the speech community in which it occurs. An understanding of CS must therefore take into account the power relations within a community. This links up with the

point made earlier regarding the fact that CS is motivated by prestige. He, thus indicates that it is more likely for speakers in the lower echelons of society to switch to languages which are associated with power. In the case of Iscamtho, Ntshangase (1993:91) indicates that switching to Zulu, English and Afrikaans occurs most often, with the less educated speakers tending to switch to Zulu rather than English or Afrikaans, while more educated speakers of Iscamtho tend to switch to English or Afrikaans rather than to Zulu.

6.7.3 CS to European languages

Thipa (1989:109) indicates that both Salami and Rowlands' suggestions regarding the functions of CS, hold true for Xhosa-English CS. The evidence from Calteaux's, Ntshangase's and Khumalo's studies that switching from an African language to English is often motivated by factors such as prestige and providing proof of linguistic virtuosity, is also upheld by Thipa (1989:112,113). He cites factors such as erudition, enhancement of social status and prestige, technology, commercialisation, urbanisation and political factors, as being responsible for lexical borrowing and codeswitching.

Khumalo (1995:63;100) also cites examples such as the following of CS in Daveyton, in this case between Zulu and English:

Ngiyahamba today. 'I am going today.'
Woza siye etown. 'Come, we are going to town.' instead of **woza siye edolobheni**

Malimabe (1990:18) likewise indicates that CS is "a sign of prestige among Blacks". Teachers often switch between, for example, Tswana and English, e.g.

Ke tsamaya ka moso and I'm going to enjoy this trip.
'I am leaving tomorrow and I'm going to enjoy this trip.'

She came here **go tla go ikopa maitshwarelo** for lying.
'She came here to ask forgiveness for lying.'

6.7.4 CS to African languages

Apart from switching to European languages, however, language contact in the urban areas regularly also results in switching to other African languages. Khumalo (1995:100) indicates that lexical interference often takes place in Daveyton when, as a result of contact with for instance Ndebele, Zulu speakers use words such as **abomkhozi** to refer to 'Ndebele female merchants', although the Zulu term **abahwebi** which refers to 'merchants', would have been quite appropriate.

6.7.5 CS within the classroom situation

CS (by teachers and pupils) seems to be on the increase in classrooms. Teachers are often not aware that they employ CS in their own speech, and it can therefore not be expected of pupils

who are taught Tswana-English to write or speak "pure" standard Tswana. Malimabe (1990:19) indicates that "some words are already anglicized and often teachers and pupils see no reason why they should not use the original English word as it is". However, she is nevertheless of the opinion, that CS should be discouraged in the classroom, especially where it interferes with the purity of the standard language.

A detailed study of CS may facilitate an understanding of the linguistic nature of the non-standard language varieties such as the BUV and the Colloquialised argots. Work in this field is already being done, *inter alia* by Finlayson, Slabbert, Myers-Scotton and Calteaux (various as yet unpublished manuscripts). The understanding of these varieties gained from this work, will also enhance our ability to manage these varieties successfully in the classroom.

6.8 CONCLUDING REMARKS

The fact that syntactical changes due to language contact are rather limited, is a further indication that current modernisation of the African languages is occurring in a systematic and rule-governed manner. The MLF model of CS supports this fact and enables us to describe language contact phenomena, such as the non-standard language varieties described in Chapter 3, in a structured manner. Although popular belief holds that these varieties are haphazard mixes of different languages, application of this model to corpora of data indicates that this is not the case. Further analyses of this kind may assist in dispelling the fears of purists that these varieties are "bad" and feature "speech errors". A better understanding of the linguistic dynamics of these varieties will also assist in the formulation of policy for successfully dealing with their occurrence in the classroom, home and other formal domains.

CHAPTER 7: SEMANTIC SHIFTS

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The lexicon is possibly **the** aspect of a language most affected by language contact. Lexical and semantic changes are often seen as twin processes, and Koopman (1994:126) indicates that "[w]ithin the field of linguistic description of meaning change in words, there is a wide choice of terminology". At the first level, a choice must be made between referring to meaning changes as **lexical** change or as **semantic** change. Koopman indicates that "[l]exical is defined [Collins:883] as 'of or relating to items of vocabulary', while **semantic** [Collins:1387] is defined as 'of or relating to meaning or arising from the distinctions between the meanings of different words or symbols'". Thereafter, the writer must decide whether these are **changes** or **shifts**.

Although all these terms are equally "correct", consequent use of terminology throughout this chapter was felt to be important. For the sake of clarity, the same approach as that taken by Koopman (1994) in his subreport, is followed here:
The changes to be described in this chapter could be considered lexical as well as semantic, and the term "lexico-semantic changes" could therefore be employed to refer to them (as Madiba did in his subreport). The term "lexical change" was, however, felt to cover all aspects of adoptives (including phonological, and morphological changes), with the result that the term "semantic shift" was felt to be more accurate in describing the material to be discussed here. "Shift" is used here as an all-embracing term, under which phenomena such as "change", "narrowing" and "broadening" will be discussed.

Koopman (1994:127-129) describes some instances of semantic shift (change, narrowing and broadening) by means of examples from English. (See his subreport for more details.) A further "very informative work on semantic change in loan words" (Koopman, 1994:127) is that of Louwrens (1993) regarding adoptives in Northern Sotho. This may also be considered for details on phenomena such as "ameliorative" and "pejorative" shifts, "metonymic transfer", "analogical transfer", "metaphoric transfer", "popular etymology", etc. These phenomena will only be referred to in passing here.

Although we will only be concerned with **semantic shift in adoptives here**, such shifts are not restricted to adoptives but also occur in native words over time (cf. Koopman, 1994:129-131). Madiba (1994:103) discusses some examples of semantic shifts in Venda native words, which occur in order to accommodate adopted concepts. This accommodation usually takes on the form of semantic broadening, as the native words retain their original meaning, but this is extended to accommodate foreign concepts as well. Examples of this phenomenon in Xhosa, may be found in Thipa (1989:126).

It must also be kept in mind that not all adoptives undergo semantic shift. Some words are adopted without any change in the meaning of the source word, e.g. the Venda adoptives **vhurotho** meaning 'bread' (< Afr. *brood*), **philisi** 'pills' from Eng. *pills* and **watshi** 'watch' from Eng. *watch*. Further examples of meaning retention in adoptives are given by Khumalo (1995:60), *viz.* **unesi** 'nurse', and **udokotela** 'doctor'. Most of the words which fall into this

group, are names of foreign ideas, or words which are used to fill gaps in the lexicon of the adopting language (Madiba, 1994:91,92).

As stated earlier in this report (3.4.5.6), semantic shift is one of the main processes employed in the codes and registers where the aim is specifically to disguise the meaning of the words, so that they will be incomprehensible to "outsiders". In fact, these words may have different meanings according to the audience and the situation (setting). Zungu's (1995) subreport contains a wealth of these words, and only a few will be mentioned here to illustrate some of the forms of semantic shift discussed below.

This chapter also includes a brief discussion of the semantic categories of adoptives which might be distinguished.

7.2 SEMANTIC CHANGE

"Semantic change" indicates a change in the meaning of the source word when it is adopted into the adopting language. Koopman (1994:134) indicates that there is, however, always a semantic link between the source word and the adoptive, e.g.

The Zulu adoptive noun **imfiliji** (< Afr. *fluitjie* 'whistle, flute') has changed its meaning to 'mouth-organ', but the semantic link of 'instrument played in the mouth' is obvious. As the Zulu language had (and has) several words for flutes and whistles, but no word for 'mouth-organ', Afr. *fluitjie* took on this new meaning.

Koopman (1994:135-139) analyses several examples of semantic change. Only a few will be considered here:

Examples of *metonymic transfer* in Zulu, defined by Louwrens (Koopman, 1994:136) as "the naming of a referent as a whole after one of its characteristic features or component parts", are the following:

umagazini 'gun, rifle' from the *magazine* which carries the bullets
isitezi 'double-storey house' from the *stairs* which go from the lower floor to the upper
fesa 'to stand in a queue' from the *first* person in line

Two examples of *pejorative changes* involving the English verbs *bring* and *work* are also cited by Koopman:

The verb **bilinga** took on the meaning of 'get possession of by stealing', while **waka** became 'cheat, trick, defraud'. **Bilinga** can only be found in Colenso's 1878 dictionary, and can safely be said to have disappeared from Zulu. **Waka**, on the other hand, has become entrenched with its pejorative shift: Bryant records the word as 'deal or transact business with intent to cheat or defraud ...', while D & V give it the meaning of 'defraud in business, cheat'.

Madiba (1994:102) also gives examples of pejorative shift in Venda, which he refers to as changes in the "emotive value" of adoptives, e.g.

Boyi refers to 'an adult male labourer' although adopted from *boy* meaning 'any male young person (under the age of 18)'.

Gẹ̣le refers to 'an adult domestic female worker (especially one who works for whites)', although adopted from *girl* 'a young female person (under 16 years of age)'.

Two modern examples of semantic change in Zulu are **u-ova** and **umkalabha**. The first word - **u-ova** - refers to a walkie-talkie radio and is derived from the English phrase '*over* to you'. The word is in common usage among Zulu-speaking game-guards in the Natal Parks Board (Koopman, 1994:139).

The second - **umakalabha** - refers to a 'hard hat' or safety helmet, and appears to be a "metaphoric transfer" from Afr. *klapper*, a word for a number of hard shelled things like coconuts, monkey oranges and coco-de-mer.

Similar instances of semantic change may be found in Venda. Madiba (1994:100) cites the following examples:

Ḽidzhagane refers to 'any person who is a Christian' whilst adopted from Afr. *diaken* which has the meaning specifically of a 'church official who attends to secular affairs of the church'.

Ḽifogisi refers to 'a detective' but is adopted from *fox* which can have the figurative meaning in English of 'a person who is cunning and sly'.

Tshigidi 'a gun' is adopted from Afr. *skiet* 'shoot'.

There are also certain words in Tsotsitaal and Iscamtho which have been derived from archaic Zulu and have undergone semantic change (Ntshangase, 1993:94), e.g.

The archaic Zulu word **idladla** which meant 'temporary store house' now means 'house' in Iscamtho. The proposed reason for this change (Msimang, 1987), is that before the repealing of the Group Areas Act, black people were regarded by the state as 'temporary sojourners in the (white) urban areas'. Thus black urban houses became seen as temporary store houses for black people while they were working in Johannesburg, as they would return to their homelands once their contracts had been completed.

Uthekeni which means 'girl' or 'girlfriend' in Iscamtho is also taken from an archaic Zulu word, *viz.* **intekane** referring to a 'beautiful small bird'. Girls are therefore seen as 'small, fragile things' by male speakers of Iscamtho and likened to the **intekane**.

7.3 SEMANTIC BROADENING

7.3.1 Semantic broadening in adoptives

With semantic broadening, the word which is adopted retains the meaning of the source noun, but takes on additional meaning as well. These additional meanings are always related to the original meaning of the word (Koopman, 1994:139). For example, the Zulu adoptive

ukhisimusi (< *Christmas*), retains the meaning of 'Christmas', but adds the related meanings of 'any public festival or picnic' and 'Christmas box'.

Further examples from Zulu (Koopman, 1994:139-141) are:

Isibhedlela (< *hospital*), which adds the meaning 'wounded lying about'.
Isitshulu (< *stew*) has the meaning of its source word in the singular, but in the plural **izitshulu** expands to mean 'tasty foods in general'.

Madiba (1994:93) provides the following examples for Venda:

Tshidimela (< Eng. *steamer*) has extended the original meaning of 'steam engine train', to refer to both a 'steam engine train' and a 'diesel/electric train'.
Gese (< Eng. *gas*) refers to the original meaning 'type of air substance', as well as 'electricity' and 'lights'.
Nyamunaithi (< Eng. *lemonade*) has extended its meaning from the original 'drink made from lemon juice' to mean 'any kind of colddrink'.

Clothing or material provide a number of examples of semantic broadening in Zulu:

Isokisi (< *sock(s)*) adds 'stocking' and 'anything knitted, such as a jersey' to the original meaning.
Isiketi (< *skirt*) has added the meaning 'pet name for wife', which like the following entry, has a ring of contemporary English slang: **ipetshisi** (< *peach*), with the addition of 'very beautiful woman'.

Thipa (1989:126-130) cites several examples of semantic change in Xhosa, and indicates that these words and phrases are almost exclusive to urban Xhosa, for instance:

Itayara 'tyre' now refers to a 'necklace', the gruesome symbol of political expression and objection. **Ukufaka impimpi itayara** 'to put a tyre around the body of an informer' during the apartheid era in South Africa, became the worst form of torture imaginable for those who were believed to be informers and collaborators with the apartheid government.

Madiba (1994:92) indicates that in Venda, semantic broadening often involves the addition of figurative meaning, when the adoptives are used in metaphoric and idiomatic expressions.

Metaphoric expressions

Metaphoric expressions are usually created on the spur of the moment when speakers compare two objects or events and this comparison leads to a change in the meaning of the original word (Madiba, 1994:94), e.g.

Vele ndi <u>limindidi</u>. (< Eng. *limited*)
LIT: 'Vele is a limited (company).'
FIG: 'Vele is a person with unlimited resources.'

The word 'limited' is used here as a metaphor for wealth, as limited companies are regarded as rich. By equating Vele to a limited company, the speaker is indicating that he too is rich. The meaning of 'limited' has thus been extended to refer figuratively to a 'wealth of riches'.

Other examples in Venda are:

Mulalo o tou vha baisikopo ṋamusi. (< Eng. *bioscope*)
LIT: 'Mulalo is a bioscope today.'
FIG: 'Mulalo is a **laughing stock** today.'

Mutukana u tou vha sheleni. (< Eng. *shilling*)
LIT: 'The boy is shilling [sic].'
FIG: 'The boy is **naked**.'

The figurative meaning in the last example is derived from the fact that one can see everything that is written on a shilling as it has no covering (Madiba, 1994:95).

Idiomatic expressions

Meaning extension also occurs in idioms in Venda (Madiba, 1994:96), e.g.

IDIOM: **Mashudu u vho sokou amba vhuḓaridari nge a wanendzwa a tshi khou tswa.**
(< Afr. *daar, daar*)
LIT: 'Mashudu was just saying that and that because he was found stealing.'
FIG: 'Mashudu was **confused** because he was found stealing.'

IDIOM: **U dzhena mabanndani.** (< Afr. *band*)
LIT: 'To get in belts.'
FIG: 'To be **arrested**.'

In the last example, 'belts' refer to 'handcuffs'.

There are many examples of semantic broadening in the codes and registers which are spoken in the GDA. A few examples are given here:

iBoeing 747 - refers to a spacious shebeen
ikameli - 'an Isuzu kombi' (because of its trouble-free endurance) < (Eng. *camel*)
i-unfinished story - refers to a student who did not complete their degree/diploma; a drop out
ipharagrafu - refers to a short person
i-Praktiese Taal - refers to stale news or an old-fashioned person
i-social worker - refers to someone who entertains people with all his money once he is drunk

Many of the terms and expressions which Zungu (1995) cites, can be termed "metaphoric", i.e. they are instant coinages which compare objects or events and lead to a change in meaning. (See also Zungu, 1995:182.)

7.3.2 Semantic broadening in native words

The following examples given by Thipa are of **native Xhosa words** (i.e. not adoptives) which have undergone a broadening of meaning:

Isirhoxo traditionally used to refer to a 'narrow gorge', now also used to refer to a 'shebeen'.
Unozakuzaku traditionally refers to a 'person who negotiates marriage between two families', but is these days also used with the meaning of 'ambassador'.
Umzabalazo has extended its original meaning of 'struggle' to include reference to 'political struggle'. The word **ugwijo** which means 'war song', has undergone a similar extension and in an expression such as **igwijo lomzabalazo** assumes a political connotation and now refers to a 'freedom song'.

This seems to be a common phenomenon in urban varieties of the African languages. Zungu (1995:172) gives the following examples which illustrate this well. In the case of the codes and registers spoken in the GDA, however, it must be kept in mind that these changes are made deliberately in order to disguise the meaning of the conversation, e.g.

Ngicela ukubhalwa encwadini yokuphila 'I would like my name to be included in the book of life', is an expression used to indicate that the person would like to buy some liquor on credit. The credit book is referred to as 'the book of life'.

Ngicela ukundiza manje ngikhokhe kamuva 'I would like to fly now and pay later' originates from the air-line advertisement which declares: 'Fly now and pay later'. The implication is the same as for the expression above - buying liquor on credit.

Zungu (1995) cites lists of such examples - too many to relay here. The reader is therefore referred to her subreport for further details and a host of examples.

7.4 SEMANTIC NARROWING

Koopman (1994:142) indicates that there are not as many examples of semantic narrowing as there are of semantic change or broadening. The essential feature of semantic narrowing, is the retention of the original meaning of the source item of the adoptive, but in a much more restricted, precise, or "narrow" sense. The following examples are taken from Zulu:

Inkantolo (< Afr. *kantoor* 'office' (generally)), has taken on an air of officialdom, and now refers specifically to 'charge office' and 'magistrate's court'.
Isiklabhu (< Afr. *skaap* 'sheep') has come to mean specifically 'Merino sheep', and in the same way **ikwiyi** (< Afr. *koei* 'cow') refers more narrowly to 'Friesland cow'.

Koopman (1994:143) indicates that in the case of the latter two examples, Zulu already has words for 'sheep' (**imvu**) and 'cow' (**inkomazi**), and foreign terms are therefore not needed for general reference, and may be harnessed for more specific application.

D & V give **ikamelo** (< Afr. *kamer* 'room') as meaning simply 'room', but Koopman indicates that the students at the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, are unanimous on this

word meaning specifically 'bedroom'. This may well be an example of a synchronic change taking place here.

Madiba (1994:99) gives the following examples of semantic narrowing in Venda:

Bia only refers to 'brewery beer', i.e. traditional beer is not included, although the original meaning of the source word *beer* is 'alcoholic drinks made from hops or malt'.

Raḽiwei refers to 'railway company' only and not to 'railway tracks' which are included in the meaning of the source noun *railway*. Madiba indicates that instead, the adoptive **tshiporo** (< Afr. *spoor*) is used to convey the meaning of 'railway lines'.

7.5 ONOMASTIC SHIFTS

"Onomastic shifts" is a term which Koopman (1994:143) gives to the phenomenon of a variety of linguistic shifts between "names" and "non-names", e.g.

"*Non-names*" *becoming* "*names*" as in the case of many Afrikaans surnames of geographical origin: **Van den Berg, Van Wyngard** or English surnames from trades: **Hunter, Smith, Baker**, etc.

"*Names*" *becoming* "*non-names*" as in (Queen) **Victoria** > **victoria** 'type of carriage', 'type of plum'; (Earl of) **Sandwich** > **sandwich** 'two slices of bread with filling', etc.

Koopman indicates that the latter type of semantic shift can also be found among Zulu adoptives, e.g.

Ubhokli (< Eng. *Buckley*) - medium large beads, or beads of a light-blue colour (named after Mr. Buckley, a trader who had a store at the lower Tugela drift and sold these beads as early as 1865).

A name which has become a coin is that of *Paul* Kruger, which has become **uPewula** in Zulu. Spelt with a capital, this word refers to President Paul Kruger himself, but without the capital, the word refers to a coin with Kruger's head on it.

A well-known modern example is **ushekazi** 'plastic shopping bag' (< the supermarket chain *Checkers*). Louwrens (Koopman, 1994:146) gives this example together with Xhosa **itshekasi** and Northern Sotho **tšhêkase**. He points out that this is because Checkers was the first store to introduce these bags with their logo on the side, however:

> In a later development **tšhêkase, ushekazi** and **itshekazi** came to be used to refer not only to plastic bags provided by *Checkers*, but to any type of plastic bag, even in instances where such bags displayed other trade names and logos such as those of *O.K. Bazaars*, *Pick 'n Pay*, etc.

Madiba (1994:93) indicates that this shift has also occurred in Venda, *viz.* **tshekasi** has the meaning 'name of the chain store (Checkers)'; '**any** plastic bag'.

Skipper is another brand name which has become a common noun: **isikibha** 'casual open-necked shirt', 'T-shirt', these days referring to any 'T-shirt', not only those made by *Skipper*.
I-okapi 'knife with a folding blade' (similar to boy-scout's penknife, but larger) is taken from the manufacturer's logo engraved on the blade, which is a picture of an *okapi* - a long-necked antelope cousin to the giraffe, found in the rain-forests of Central Africa (Koopman, 1994:147).

Further recent examples of onomastic shift include **izolabudd** for a Kombi taxi, named after the South African distance runner, and **ideklerk**, in reference to the new two rand coin which came into currency at the same time that President De Klerk made his historic announcements about the "new South Africa" (Koopman, 1994:148).

Zungu (1995:168) mentions the example of the clan name **Khabazela** for the Zulu surname **Mkhize**, which is often used in a soccer code in the GDA when a player wants his team-mate to pass him the ball. The "name" **Khabazela** is then used as a verb in order to disguise the meaning from the opponents.

The occurrence of **non-names becoming names** is a much rarer phenomenon. Koopman (1994:148) gives the following Zulu examples:

uThamsanqa is a common Zulu personal name for boys, adopted from Xhosa *ithamsanqa* 'luck'.
eNdayimini, the Zulu word for Kimberley, is adopted from *diamond*.
eGoli, the Zulu name for Johannesburg, is from *gold*.

7.6 PROBLEMS AND OVERLAP

Not all adoptives fit neatly into one of the three basic subcategories discussed above and either overlap them or show some problematic features related to semantic shift. Koopman (1994:131-134) discusses several Zulu examples, although we shall only consider one of these here. The reader is referred to his subreport for further details.

Koopman (1994:133) indicates that the verb **sonta** is derived from the adoptive **isonto** 'Sunday' (< Afr. *Sondag*), and has the meanings 1) 'go to church, attend a religious service, belong to a specific denomination'; 2) 'spend a weekend'. The Afrikaans word *Sondag* does not "contain" any religious meaning as the Zulu verb **sonta** does, so this could be regarded as a semantic change. On the other hand, the emphasis on the church-going part of Sunday suggests semantic narrowing. Or does the inclusion of 'spend a weekend' make this word an example of semantic broadening?

7.7 CALQUES

Calques (also known as loan translations) are literal translations of foreign expressions into the adopting language. They are often phrases which come easily to mind, and are frequently used by bilingual speakers to display familiarity with a foreign culture and language

(especially one which is deemed more prestigious). Thipa (1989:131) provides the following examples of calques in urban Xhosa - the standard (rural) Xhosa expression follows after the translation in each case:

Basengaphandle komsebenzi.
'They are still out of work.'
(Abakasebenzi)

Ngaphandle kwakhe ngesifile.
'Without him we would have died.'
(Okokuba ebengekho ngesifile.)

Umlenze wokuqala womdlalo.
'The first leg of the game.'
(Isigaba sokuqala somdlalo.)

That calques are a prominent feature of urban speech is also evident from various examples of language use in Daveyton (Khumalo, 1995:104), e.g.

Ngenyanga ezayo zobe zilele kimi.
'Next month will be easier for me.'

The standard Zulu expression would be:

Ngenyanga ezayo ngoba ngimi kahle.
'Next month I shall be self-sufficient. [sic]'

Constant usage engenders familiarity and gives the impression that calques are in fact acceptable native language renditions. Thipa adds (1989:132) that due to their assuming a knowledge of English, they are characteristic of educated speakers, which means that they are not exclusive to urban Xhosa, but are also found in rural Xhosa albeit to a very limited extent.

7.8 SLANG

Thipa (1989:133-136) provides some examples of Xhosa slang as used by young people:

Ukujema 'to participate in a drinking session' or 'jam session' is a popular night pastime with young people, especially in urban areas. It involves drinking, listening to music and occasional dancing.

Ibhari / umxhaka are derogatory terms used to refer to people who are considered to be ignorant or unsophisticated. Originally the term seems to have been applied by urban dwellers to rural dwellers, but nowadays this rural-urban distinction has diminished.

Ukuncanywa is in the passive and normally means 'to be given up'. In slang the passive is not expressed, however, and the word means 'to like intensely, to be enchanted with'.

An interesting item is **sibali** or **sbali** from Afr. *swaer* 'brother-in-law'. Among young people and those who consider themselves to be "with it", this lexical item means 'friend' in a rather loose sense. It transcends rural and urban boundaries.

Although slang is most often used by urban youths, it is also found among young rural speakers.

7.9 SEMANTIC CATEGORIES

The fact that language change is not only due to contact between different languages but also to contact between different cultures, has already been stressed. Contact with the European cultures, has left its mark on the lexicons of the African languages. Koopman (1994:52) indicates, for instance, the influence of the colonial government and administration, Christianity and missionaries, transport, new plants and foodstuffs, utensils and tools, etc. in the lexicon of Zulu.

Although it is relatively easy to compile lists of the various aspects of the new cultures which have influenced these lexicons, it is more difficult to establish the comparative influence of the different categories, and how such "cultural" contact affected these languages. Koopman (1994:52-125) subdivides the adoptives in Doke and Vilakazi's dictionary into "semantic categories which reflect various aspects of the life-style of the European visitors. By comparing the relative numbers of adoptives in each category, and by comparing new acquisitions to the Zulu lexicon with existing words (where applicable), [he] establishes particular areas of language contact and their relative importance to language change in Zulu."

Table (7.9) provides a summary of the categories which Koopman distinguishes, as well as an overview of the relative size of these categories and the percentages of English, Afrikaans, and other source languages.

Of interest in this table, is the fact that unexpected categories such as *people*, according to their profession, trade or character, would constitute such a large category (third largest out of 18 categories distinguished). Similarly, one would expect the Church to have had a strong influence on Zulu, but what one does not expect, and which does turn out to be the case, is the importance (in terms of number of adoptives in the lexicon), of the semantic categories of "FOOD" and "OX-WAGON".

TABLE 7.9: PERCENTAGES OF SEMANTIC CATEGORIES IN D & V

CATEGORY	TOTAL ADOPTIVES	% OF WHOLE	% OF ENGLISH	% OF AFRIKAANS	% OF OTHER
UTENSIL	115	10.7	68.7	30.4	0.9
GOVERN	98	9.1	74.5	15.3	10.2
PERSON	89	8.3	75.3	18.0	6.7
FOOD	89	8.3	75.3	19.1	5.6
OX	78	7.3	28.2	71.8	-
INDUSTRY	72	6.7	87.5	9.7	2.8
CHURCH	71	6.6	84.5	8.5	7.0
AGRICULTURE	63	5.9	57.2	33.3	9.5
CULTURE	47	4.4	83.0	17.0	-
HOUSE	45	4.2	80.0	20.0	-
MATERIAL	43	4.0	74.4	25.6	-
GARB	39	3.6	69.2	30.8	-
PEOPLES	33	3.0	81.8	6.1	12.1
EDUCATION	30	2.8	100	-	-
MEASURES	26	2.4	84.6	15.4	-
MILITARY	24	2.2	79.2	20.8	-
MEDICAL	19	1.7	94.7	5.3	-
MONEY	17	1.6	58.8	29.4	11.8
REMNANTS	75	7.0	68	26.7	5.3
DICTIONARY					
OVERALL	1073		72.1	23.4	4.5
MAIN SECTION			68.1	27.0	4.9
APPENDIX			94.4	3.7	1.9

Different classifications of the semantic categories of adoptives have been proposed in the past. The subreports by Madiba (1994:77), Zungu (1995:147), and Koopman (1994:55) each provide a different classification. In this regard, Koopman's classification is perhaps the most "advanced" in the sense that he distinguishes broad categories which are then sub-divided into related subcategories, and includes comparative statistics for the various categories. The classification presented in his subreport, is perhaps the most detailed categorisation presented thus far for any African language.

Although the reader is referred to Koopman's subreport (1994:65-69) for the details of his categorisation, the following example of one of his categories (i.e. for Zulu) may be given as an illustration of the approach he takes. Only a limited number of examples will be provided by way of illustration.

7.9.1 The semantic category PERSON

This category is not to be confused with the semantic category PEOPLES, which deals with adoptives referring to people according to nationality or origin, such as **iBhunu** 'Afrikaner', and **iJalimane** 'German', etc. The PERSON category is sub-divided into:

1. ***Trained professionals/specific occupation***

um-bhaki (aba-)	< **bhaka**	< Afr. *bak*:	baker
um-bhithi (aba-)	< **bhitha**	< Eng. *beat*:	conductor (of choir or orchestra)
u-thish(el)a (o-)		< Eng.:	teacher

2. ***Those doing a specific task***

u-bhusha (o-)		< Eng.:	butcher/(-boy)
um-voti (aba-)	< **vota**	< Eng.:	voter
um-deki (aba-)	< **deka**	< Afr. *dek*:	one who lays the table

3. ***Figures of authority***

um-bhasobhi (aba-)	< **bhasobha**	< Afr. *pas op* 'be careful'	caretaker, superintendent
im-folomane (izim-)		< Eng.:	foreman (in European service)
u-khansela (o-)		< Eng.:	councillor

4. ***Personality types***

u-lova (o-)		< Eng.:	1. loafer; 2. beggar
i-njintimane (izi-)		< Eng. *gentleman*:	well-to-do man with gentlemanly manners
isi-khumkane (izi-)		< Xhosa:	wealthy person

5. ***Other***

isi-poki (izi-)		< Afr. *spook*:	ghost
um-shadi (aba-)	< **shada**	< Xhosa:	man married by Christian or civil rights
i(li)-khasimende (ama-)		< Eng.:	customer, client

The categorisation followed by Madiba (1994:77-83) for adoptives in Venda, is as follows: **government (administration and judiciary); education; economic system; transport and communication; clothing; foods and household (sub-divided into foods and drinks); business, professions and institutions; sport and social entertainment (subdivisions for sports and modern entertainment);** and **agriculture and husbandry**.

A comparison of this categorisation with Koopman's as set out in the table above, clearly demonstrates the differences in categorisation mentioned earlier. The reader is referred to Madiba's subreport for further details and examples of his categorisation.

7.10 CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter we discussed semantic changes to adoptives. It was noted that in certain cases, the meanings of adoptives are broadened or narrowed. Figurative changes in meaning were

illustrated, as were different instances of change in the meaning of adopted words. It was indicated that some words acquire pejorative connotations, while in others metonymic transfer occurs. Lastly, an indication was given of the semantic categories affected by adoption. Different classifications were illustrated and an analysis of adoptive categories in Zulu was presented.

Thipa indicates that it is mainly in the area of "lexical borrowing" and calques that rural and urban Xhosa differ most markedly. Urban Xhosa shows much more adoption from English and Afrikaans than does rural Xhosa. The reason for this is most likely the exposure of urban speakers to Western concepts and influences. Culture and culture change therefore also play an important role in lexical adoption and semantic shift.

It is in fact interesting to note that the subreports hardly refer to adoption from the other African languages, with the emphasis mainly on adoption from English and to a lesser extent from Afrikaans. Explanations for this include (a) the fact that the subreports mainly described urban influences on the "standard" African languages, (b) the exposure to Western concepts and influences mentioned above, and (c) the prestige motive and need-filling motive referred to in Chapter 2 (see 2.6.3.1 and 2.6.3.2).

The systematic description of semantic shifts presented here indicates a possible approach to the teaching of adoptives in terms of trends in their semantic adaptation in the adopting language. Such an approach would illustrate the dynamics of semantic shifts in adoptives, and would be a significant move away from an approach based on the rote learning of lists of adoptives.

CHAPTER 8: LANGUAGE INTERFERENCE IN THE SCHOOLS

8.1 INTRODUCTION

Language contact in the urban areas has a severe impact on the language use of pupils in the schools. It often happens that the language which the child is expected to learn in the mother tongue classroom, is in fact not the language which is used in the home. Malimabe (1990:29) found for instance, that only 17,8% of the standard 6 pupils around Pretoria whose use of Tswana she studied, came from homes where both parents were Batswana. On the other hand, 37,8% came from homes where one parent was Tswana-speaking, while 44,4% of the pupils whose standard Tswana language use she studied, came from homes in which neither the father nor the mother were Batswana.

Malimabe (1990:9) indicates, that around Pretoria, Tswana is mainly influenced by Northern Sotho and to a lesser extent by Southern Sotho (the latter influence occurs as a result of Southern Sotho being the language most often used in church). In this area, Tswana in turn has an influence on the use of Zulu and Southern Ndebele. Zulu influence on Tswana is limited to cases where the pupil's home language is in fact Zulu, although he/she is learning standard Tswana at school. An example of such influence can be seen in the following sentence written by a pupil who grew up in Tembisa (where Zulu dominates), and whose mother is Zulu-speaking, while her father speaks Tswana. The child claims that her home language is Zulu, (possibly also due to the fact that the father no longer lives with the family), but that she speaks Tswana with her friends. The following sentence from one of her essays, is typical of her language use:

Ka tsela gone go le monate ka teng one okare monate o safela.

The correct version of the sentence in Tswana would be:

Ka tsela e go neng go le monate ka teng, e ne e kete / o ne o kare monate o se ke wa fela.

In standard Zulu, this would be rendered as follows:

Ngendlela bekumnandi ngakhona ubungathi umnandi wakhona ungapheli.

Direct translation: 'The way it was nice, I wish the nice would not finish.'
'The way I enjoyed myself, I wish it would not stop.'

This example, gives some indication of the influence which languages have on each other. Note, for instance, that the pupil followed a semi-conjunctive approach to writing the words in the sentence - a sort of compromise between the conjunctive approach followed in the Nguni languages, and the disjunctive approach followed in the Sotho languages. Other forms of interference will be discussed below.

Apart from the influence of other African languages, English and Afrikaans also leave their mark on the use of the standard language in schools. Pupils learn one of these languages (and sometimes both) as subjects at school, and Malimabe (1990:9) indicates that the compositions

written in the African language classrooms (the mother tongue subjects), often contain a number of adoptives from Afrikaans and English. The unacceptability of some of these adoptives, gives rise (in the Pretoria area) to colloquial words coined from Afrikaans and Tswana, or English and Tswana, for example:

Afr.	'is dit nie so nie'	>	**astere**	instead of	**akere**
Eng.	'and'	>	**endene**	instead of	**gape / le**

Dialectal influence also occurs. Malimabe (1990:10) indicates that in the Pretoria area the Kgatla dialect of Tswana has the greatest influence on standard Tswana. Pupils are often not aware of the number of dialects there are in Tswana. To them, Tswana is the language which they hear being spoken around the Odi region where the dialect which forms the basis of standard Tswana, namely Sehurutshe, is spoken. However, in Hammanskraal, which is located close to Odi, the Kgatla dialect is spoken. It is clear that without a proper knowledge of dialectal differences, the children can easily confuse the two dialects, or use dialectal forms indiscriminately. It can in fact be argued, that they are not even aware that dialectal differences exist.

Mathumba (1993:190) also indicates that lexical differences between the different dialects of Tsonga often cause communication breakdown. This happens in the oral as well as the written medium. Such differences often create problems for children in school, for instance when pupils are asked to explain two different meanings of words which in certain dialects only have one meaning. A case in point is the word **-gonya** which in Gwamba means "to go up", whereas in Changana it means "to put on a cover for the private parts, e.g. stertriem or napkin, etc." For further examples see Mathumba (1993:190,191).

8.2 LANGUAGE USE PATTERNS IN THE SCHOOLS

In the schools, standard African languages are almost always only used during the periods designated to learning these languages, i.e. the so-called "vernacular" (mother tongue) classes. For this period, pupils are supposed to split up and attend their respective vernacular classes where they are taught the pure standard languages. However, many of the schools in the urban black townships are mixed schools, in the sense that children from various ethnic backgrounds attend the same school. The result is that the vernacular classes are often mixed, i.e. not everyone in a vernacular class speaks the same home language. This situation creates considerable difficulties for teachers, often forcing them to deviate from the use of standard language for the duration of the lesson, as many of the pupils need clarification of issues in a language which they can understand. (Kgomoeswana, 1993:14 points out, however, that codeswitching often occurs more for the benefit of the teacher than for that of the pupils.)

Furthermore, due to the need in these mixed schools for a common medium of communication, it is to be expected that the Black Urban Vernacular (BUV) will be used in the schools. Unfortunately, this not only occurs outside the vernacular classrooms, for example when pupils are socialising during breaks, but also during vernacular lessons, for instance when teachers are attempting to explain concepts to the pupils. Although the use of a non-standard variety of language to explain issues in content subject lessons might still be tolerable, such language use during standard language lessons, is a cause for serious concern.

A third factor contributing to the use of non-standard language varieties in schools, is that pupils will normally use the language which is most dominant in a school, for communication purposes. In multilingual schools, the language use of pupils from language groups which are in the minority in a particular school, will thus obviously be affected by their use of the majority language. Unfortunately, these pupils do not have much choice in the matter.

8.2.1 The influence of Black Urban Vernaculars

The nature of the Black Urban Vernaculars (such as Tembisa Mixed language and Pretoria-Sotho), has already been discussed under 3.4.5.1. Malimabe (1990:10) indicates that the BUV spoken in the townships around Pretoria (Atteridgeville, Mamelodi, Soshanguve), namely Pretoria Sotho, also influences the use of standard Tswana. It will be remembered that Pretoria Sotho is a mixture of elements from Northern Sotho, Tswana, Southern Sotho, Zulu, English and Afrikaans, based on the Kgatla dialect of Tswana.

In many cases, the child's *home language* is a mixed language such as a BUV. Furthermore, the language used most often in casual conversations between friends and acquaintances is the BUV, and not a standard language. The result is that the standard language which the child is expected to learn as a first language at school, is often foreign to him/her. This in turn causes the child to use foreign words and phrases when asked to produce written or oral work in the standard language.

8.2.2 The influence of colloquialised argots

As mentioned under 3.4.5.6, Colloquialised argots are the non-standard varieties known as Tsotsitaal and Iscamtho. Although Ntshangase (1993:123) argues that Iscamtho is not yet used as a *lingua franca*, it has already been mentioned that the common forms of these varieties are used to facilitate communication and are *in the process* of becoming *lingua francas*.

These language varieties are used by male pupils (adolescents) outside the school situation when conversing with their friends. It can therefore be expected that they will continue using various forms of these non-standard varieties with their friends inside the school fence as well. Malimabe (1990:14) indicates that Tsotsitaal (the Afrikaans-based variety which is found most often around Pretoria) words and expressions can often be found in the standard Tswana written and oral work of secondary school pupils.

In fact, Zungu (1995:122) indicates that there are specific codes and registers which are used in educational settings. The speakers include students from secondary schools, universities and technikons as well as teachers in these institutions. These codes are characterised by codeswitching and semantic shift - phenomena which have already been discussed earlier. Delicate topics such as teachers', students' and lecturers' behaviour, are often discussed in these codes. Zungu (1995:123-127) provides several examples of the words and expressions which occur in these codes and registers. The reader is referred to her subreport for discussion of these examples.

From this discussion, it is clear that teachers are faced with a situation in which they have to teach a fairly unknown "standard" language to pupils of diverse linguistic backgrounds. The problems encountered in this situation are numerous and do not only concern language. Further contributing factors discussed below, simply exacerbate the situation.

8.3 THE PROBLEM OF ACCESS TO EFFECTIVE SCHOOLING

Apart from the language problems inhibiting the learning of a standard language, there is also the question of access to schooling suited to the needs of the child. This is often a problem in urban areas, and exacerbates the standard language problem in schools. One of the problems of access is finding an appropriate school for the child to attend.

Parents sometimes send their children to the school nearest their home, irrespective of whether or not the school offers their home language as a subject. Often, however, they have no choice in the matter as the school which they would prefer may be full or too far from their home for the child to attend. Parents who speak Tsonga and Venda at home, often experience difficulties in finding a suitable and accessible school for their children as there are fewer schools which offer these languages in the townships than there are for the Sotho or Nguni languages. Parents are therefore often forced to send their children to the nearest school, knowing that the children will eventually acquire a standard language, which is not their home language. Often, children end up speaking this formally acquired language better than the language of their parents. Obviously the consequences of this situation for the preservation of the home language, are severe.

A second complication regarding access to effective schooling, is the use of a mixed (non-standard) language (a BUV or one of the colloquialised argots) in the home. This has consequences for the acquisition of standard languages at school. Children growing up with a mixed language being spoken in the home find it very difficult to learn a standard language in school. Often, the standard language learnt at school is neither that of the mother nor of the father, with the result that the child has no recourse to a role model (except for the teacher). In such cases, the parents will not be able to assist the child with homework or assignments either, as they lack sufficient knowledge of the standard language which the child is learning at school.

8.4 TYPES OF INFLUENCE

The following section deals with the types of interference found in the standard language usage of pupils in secondary schools. Malimabe (1990:15-23) indicates that these types of interference include adoptives, codeswitching, and grammatical errors. The first two types of interference have been dealt with extensively earlier in the report. The following section will therefore only consider the third type of interference, namely **grammatical errors**.

Malimabe found in her research on the language use of high school pupils, that certain grammatical rules of the standard language are often broken or overlooked as the result of

interference from other languages. The following common errors occur - the examples are taken from essays in standard Tswana:

1. *Incorrect use of the passive:*

O tla bolaya ke nna. instead of **O tla bolawa ke nna.**
'He will be killed by me.'

Nama e ja ke kgosi. instead of **Nama e jewa ke kgosi.**
'The meat is eaten by the king.'

This grammatical error is due to the influence of the spoken language on the written language.

2. *Incorrect use of the perfect tense:*

Re ile ra ... instead of **Re ne ra ...**
'We did ...'

This occurs in Tswana under influence of Northern Sotho.

3. *Incorrect use of expressions:*

Mang kapa mang. instead of **Mongwe le mongwe.**
'Each and everyone.'

This occurs in Tswana under influence of Southern Sotho.

4. *Elision of a qualificative particle:*

Motho o tsamayang. instead of **Motho yo o tsamayang.**
'The person who is walking.'

5. *Use of a possessive:*

The influence of Afrikaans and English leads to such errors as:

Mme wa me instead of **Mme** < Eng. my mother / Afr. my ma

6. *Incorrect use of a concord:*

Nkgonne le katse ba gobetse. instead of **Nkgonne o gobetse, le katse le yone e gobetse.**
'My sister and the cat are injured.' 'My sister is injured and so is the cat.'

Taung e tla nna (lefatshe) ya Batswana. instead of **Taung e tla nna lefatshe la Batswana.**
'Taung will be a country for the Batswana.'

7. *Incorrect use of conjunctions:*

This occurs under influence of Northern Sotho.

Ge re tsamaya. instead of **Fa re tsamaya.**
'When we left.'

8. *Incomplete sentences:*

Pupils seem unaware that they have made a mistake.

Ba tshaba go dumela le go amogela diphethogo tseo baneng ba bona.
'They are afraid to agree and accept those changes that in their children.' [sic]

instead of

Ba tshaba go dumela le go amogela diphetogo tse bana ba bona ba di dirang.
'They are afraid to accept changes made by their children.'

9. *Direct translations:*

Ka fa tlase ga taolo ya tagi. instead of **O ne a ijetse/tagilwe/gapa dipodi.**
'Under the influence of liquor.' 'He was drunk.'

10. *Incorrect usage of words in context:*

balwetse 'sick people' / **bakudi** 'sick people'

These words are synonyms but are used in one sentence with different meanings:

Balwetsi le bakudi ba kwa kokelong.
'The sick and the ill are in hospital.'

instead of

Balwetsi ba kwa kokelong. OR **Bakudi ba kwa kokelong.**
'The sick are in hospital.'

This occurs because the word **bakudi** is not a Tswana word.

Malimabe (1990) cites many examples of adoptives and grammatical errors which were found in the essays of the high school pupils whose standard language usage she was researching. The reader is referred to her subreport for further examples.

Malimabe (1990:64) found that the written Tswana of pupils from the urban townships she studied (Atteridgeville, Mamelodi and Soshanguve), showed a higher percentage of language interference (grammatical errors and adoptives) than that of the pupils from Bophuthatswana

(a rural area). The main reason for this would be a higher degree of contact with other languages around Pretoria, than is the case in Bophuthatswana.

Her research also revealed a higher percentage (generally, i.e. not in all cases) of grammatical errors than of the use of adoptives, or codeswitching. Comparisons of the percentages of errors appear in her subreport and are too nebulous to be reproduced here.

8.5 THE ROLE OF THE PARENTS

The earlier discussion regarding access, indicates that the parents have an important role to play in their children's education, and in preparing them for school. It is important for parents to instil in their children a sense of who they are, where they come from and to which ethnic group they belong. Lack of such knowledge can lead to a lack of identity and subsequent loss of culture (Calteaux, 1994:170).

Parents also have a responsibility in choosing a suitable school for their children to attend, and ensuring that there is some congruence between the standard language taught in the school and the language spoken in the home. Many parents who send their small children to multiracial crèche's so that they can acquire a knowledge of English, have made the sacrifice to speak English in the home as well, in order to create an environment in which their child can learn to speak English fluently. It is rather ironic that the same sacrifice is not made for the preservation of the African languages. If this preservation is to take place, a change in attitude towards the use of the standard languages, *inter alia* in the home, is absolutely essential. Children have to be shown the value of learning the standard African languages. This implies that a general change in attitude towards the African languages needs to be engineered, in order for them to be regarded once more as valuable and prestigious languages worthy of study and development.

The research done by Calteaux (1994:171,172) in Tembisa, indicated that most parents **are** dedicated to the education of their children. They try their best to ensure that their children receive an education, which is something many of them never had, irrespective of the cost. Unfortunately, not all parents share these sentiments.

8.6 THE ROLE OF THE TEACHER

As mentioned above, many children only encounter standard languages in the classroom as these are not their home languages. Mastery of the standard languages, for these children, therefore depends entirely on the teacher. Malimabe (1990:69) found, however, that many of the teachers who teach Tswana in the high schools around Pretoria, are not actually Batswana by birth and some have not even grown up in Tswana-speaking areas. In the rural area she researched (Bophuthatswana) on the other hand, all the teachers she interviewed who teach standard Tswana, were Batswana by birth and had grown up in Tswana-speaking areas. The pupils in Bophuthatswana therefore have an advantage over those in the urban areas, as the language use of their teachers shows less interference from other languages. Notwithstanding this, these pupils still made a large number of grammatical errors.

The language use of teachers is, an important issue as Malimabe indicates that teachers are often unable to express themselves in the pure standard languages. Their own speech is laced with language contact phenomena such as codeswitching and the use of adoptives. Such practices lead to the unintentional encouragement of non-standard forms such as those encountered in Pretoria Sotho. Furthermore, errors are sometimes marked correct leading to incorrect language learning by the pupils (Malimabe, 1990:71,72).

In some cases, the teachers who have been allocated to teach an African language, do not have the credentials to do so. However, as they are desperate to secure their positions, they accept such appointments. Teachers who are not qualified to teach the language subjects, will obviously also contribute (albeit unintentionally) to the errors made by pupils, further exacerbating the situation.

It is clear that the teacher is pivotal in dealing with the realities of and the problems caused by urban language use patterns, within the classroom situation. It is therefore essential that attention to be given to equipping teachers to deal with these realities. This issue will receive further attention in Chapter 10.

8.7 TEACHING METHODS

Malimabe (1990:72) found that teachers give pupils too little time to practice writing skills, making it difficult for them to develop an individual style and expression. When marking essays, teachers often only point out mistakes without providing the correct words or forms of expression. Some essays which she analysed had been marked very poorly, making it impossible for the pupil to realise (never mind correct) the mistakes he/she had made. In other cases, the teacher had provided a model essay for the pupils to learn off by heart. Obviously such practices do not facilitate understanding, nor do they encourage creativity. In some cases, Malimabe (1990:73) found that pupils had been asked to revise their essays, but these revisions had not been followed up, with the result that mistakes were repeated.

8.7.1 Teachers' opinions about language use in the schools

When asked to respond to the above-mentioned observations, teachers indicated that they use English words in their speech for the sake of prestige - it makes them feel more like teachers. Teachers are often expected to teach various content subjects as well as the vernacular class, and find it difficult to switch to standard Tswana for that specific period. The teachers were of the opinion that some of these problems could be alleviated, if they could be allowed to specialise in one subject.

Another problem raised by the teachers is that the classes are so big, and their workload such that they do not have the time to mark each composition properly or to attend to pupils individually. Some teachers feel that the number of compositions required by the syllabus is too daunting a task, with the result that composition writing is taught in class, but the exercises are given as homework and therefore completed without teacher guidance.

Pupils, in turn, are only concerned with the number of red marks on their papers and the grades they obtain. Thereafter the books are closed until it is time for the next exercise.

An alarming trend in schools, is that the teachers who teach the content subjects, often undermine the African languages, by inculcating in the pupils an attitude that these languages are not important as they are not used internationally and will be of little benefit to the pupils later on in life, e.g. when they go to university (cf. also Gugushe, 1978:217). These teachers tend to keep pupils in their classes long after their periods are over on the pretext that they have "important" work to complete. They fail to take into account, however, that pupils must obtain at least a D symbol in one of the African languages to qualify for Matriculation exemption. In fact, Malimabe indicates that a B or C symbol at matriculation level is a prerequisite for employment at the Bophuthatswana Broadcasting services.

8.8 ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE TEACHING OF NON-STANDARD VARIETIES

The following type of questions arise, regarding the teaching of the language varieties discussed in this report (Thipa, 1989:163):

- Can language varieties be taught?
- If yes, what exactly about them should be taught?
- At what level should they be taught?

The importance of the study of language varieties lies according to Shuy (Thipa, 1989:163) in the fact that it makes a better match with the setting in which the child can be found, in other words

> [it] gets to the heart of many problems involving writing, reading, and talking. It is in this area of variability that answers can be found to perplexing questions about how to delimit styles, exactly how to effect acceptability in school writing and talking, how to appreciate the dynamics of variation in the language of others ... how people set themselves off from each other through language, or how subtle variation between spoken and written language forms can cause problems in composition or reading.

The question of whether language varieties can be taught is not easy to answer. Not only are these varieties varied, but there are also many of them: rural and urban varieties, home languages and mother tongues, regional and social dialects etc. It is not easy to draw a clear distinction between these.

Khumalo (1995:80-84) found opposing opinions regarding the teaching of non-standard varieties in school. *Those in favour* of this, motivated their answers by stating:

- that the non-standard varieties should also gain recognition;
- that teaching the varieties would help develop them into more acceptable forms of usage;
- that they enable people to get to know different cultures; and
- that it would enable pupils to analyse different languages.

Those against the teaching of these varieties, gave the following reasons:

- these varieties are characterised by a deficient knowledge of grammar and are socially stigmatised,
- they have "bad" grammar, an inadequate vocabulary, and provide an intellectually inferior instrument of thought,
- they may underrate pupils' language abilities,
- pupils will not be able to use them productively,
- these varieties cannot be used in other spheres of education such as economics, mathematics, geography, because they are not actually languages as such and therefore do not fulfil all the requirements of languages,
- there are no textbooks for them, and their lexicography is not yet standardised,
- it will affect the standard language and cause confusion for the younger pupils who are at the stage of acquiring the standard language,
- these are not the kind of languages which should be used to educate our people,
- it can kill the knowledge of the real language and its beauty, which is already happening due to the language use patterns (the use of mixed languages) of the younger generation,
- the younger generation will be affected in that they will not know the original words of the language - this will lead to a loss of culture,
- they destroy our culture,
- they are not stable varieties - the meanings of their words change with the times and will eventually become obsolete,
- these languages are used for the purposes of secrecy and the rural communities will therefore experience difficulties in understanding these languages - they thus hamper progress and promote communication breakdown,
- they are just languages which are used for fun.

Khumalo (1995:109) states that the non-standard varieties should only be taught in the schools if they meet the following requirements:

- they should be efficient, in the sense that they should be easy to be learnt and easy to be used,
- they should be adequate, i.e. they must have extensive terminology covering fields such as science and technology, and should also accommodate the rural dialects, and
- they should meet the conventional requirements of language norms.

Although the opinions expressed here only represent those of a small number of people, it is clear from the above that the negative attitudes which prevail towards the non-standard varieties, prevents them from being acceptable in the classroom situation. However, it is known that certain non-standard varieties are more acceptable than others, and attitudes towards the use of these in schools should be tested separately. Furthermore, no distinction is made in Khumalo's research between the acceptability of non-standard varieties for use in different functions, for example as medium of instruction vs. as a resource for explaining difficult concepts. A broader survey of attitudes towards proposals for acknowledging and integrating non-standard varieties in the classroom, may indicate an entirely different picture to the one above.

8.9 RECOMMENDATIONS

8.9.1 Teaching methodology

- Malimabe (1990:77) recommends that the influence of non-standard languages on the standard language in schools, should be corrected at the level of teaching methodology. She is of the opinion that many of the errors made by pupils can be corrected by employing proper teaching methods for composition writing. For instance, instead of expecting pupils to write an essay a week, the four composition periods and the four oral periods can be used jointly to teach pupils the theory of composition (i.e. creative) writing and give them short exercises to practice their writing skills. In this way, their language proficiency can be improved effectively.

- Malimabe's research revealed that there are various aspects of composition writing which need urgent attention, *viz.*

  * the form of the essay - pupils need to be taught about paragraphs and the division of an essay into an introduction, body and conclusion;
  * the use of subheadings and a framework;
  * the different types of essays which can be written - narrative, descriptive, argumentative etc.;
  * the use of different types (lengths) of sentences;
  * the use of concise language instead of long descriptions;
  * correct word order and the use of words in sentence initial position for the purpose of emphasis; and
  * correct spelling, punctuation, word division and breaking of words at the end of a line.

- Pupils should also be encouraged to draw on all five their senses when engaging in creative writing, and to make use of ideophones and interjectives in their writing. In this way, the meaningless drills of these words in grammar, can be made more dynamic, interesting and alive.

- Pupils should be encouraged to only use coinages and foreign expressions when satisfactory equivalents do not exist in the standard language. The indiscriminate use of adoptives should therefore be discouraged and only allowed where such words fill gaps in the standard language. This may happen in the case of lack of terminology or when native language words do not capture the meaning which the pupils want to portray adequately.

- Pupils should also be encouraged to read as many African language books as possible, taking note of how language is used. This will inculcate correct usage of language as well as enriching their vocabulary. They should also be encouraged to listen attentively to the language use of their teachers, note deviations from the standard language and critically analyse these in debates with each other.

- When marking the pupils compositions, teachers should list all the errors made and base their revisions on these. Pupils can also be asked to edit their own work by checking spelling, punctuation, word-order, use of unacceptable adoptives, phrases and slang and

that there are proper links between paragraphs. The latter can be done individually or in groups so that pupils can discuss the errors and arrive at an understanding of their mistakes.

- Malimabe (1990:82-86) suggests the use of Josephson's method of marking compositions, known as the Compform-Markchart. The benefits of using this Markchart, are that

  - it is a fast method of marking compositions of various lengths and numbers;
  - it eliminates red-penning which can be disheartening for pupils;
  - it cuts down on the repetition of mistakes by pupils;
  - pupils can see their errors at a glance and know why words and constructions are incorrect;
  - it eliminates counting of words to ensure the composition contains a certain number of words;
  - pupils can become aware of the percentages of mistakes made;
  - it facilitates revision;
  - it enables the pupils to measure their progress;
  - teachers have a complete record of all errors on hand and do not have to recall mistakes or search for these; and
  - pupils do not have to rewrite the entire essay when making corrections.

  Malimabe details how this method works - the reader is referred to her subreport for further discussion of this method.

- Since the Compform method was designed for use in marking English compositions, it would have to be adapted for use in the African languages. One drawback of the Compform is that it takes time to develop and master the format, but once this has been accomplished, it forms a memorandum which can be used by both teachers and pupils.

8.9.2 Teacher training

- Thipa (189:164) recommends that the study of language varieties in general should be introduced in colleges of education, during the training of teachers for their professions. Emphasis should be placed on the nature of language varieties and on the various ways in which these varieties manifest themselves. In this way, prospective teachers can be taught the skills and didactic tools for coping with language varieties in the classroom. For example, in the marking of a letter or composition there could be a scale whereby the use of non-standard varieties is accommodated and not as heavily penalised as is presently the case.

- It must be remembered that children are more familiar with the language to which they are exposed in their immediate environment. It is therefore unfair to punish them for using a language acquired in a setting which is not of their own making and over which they have no control.

- The recommendation that the study of language varieties be conducted at colleges of education, implies that language planning must be included in the syllabuses for these institutions.

- The detailed study of language variation should be introduced at university level, within a module on sociolinguistics. Consideration should be given to making this module compulsory. Aspects such as the nature of language variation, how and why varieties develop, and how they manifest themselves could be included in this coursework. Consideration should also be given to the study of such related aspects as speech communities and standard vs. non-standard language usage.

8.9.3 Other suggestions

- Other suggestions for improving language usage of pupils, is to encourage them to listen to grammar and literature lessons given on television and radio as these are written by language experts. Another suggestion is for the teachers to be made aware by the subject-advisors, examiners and Language Boards, of the common errors made by pupils during examinations. Such information could provide input and encouragement to teachers to improve their teaching.

- Decisions taken by the Language Boards should be communicated to teachers as quickly as possible by means of circulars to all the schools. The present process of waiting for decisions to be published in the Terminology and Orthography of a particular language, takes too long. Mathumba (1993:125) also identified this as a problem in his research, and states that the decisions made on dissemination of findings, are not carried out. The damage is done long before the information reaches the teachers. Malimabe suggests that journals such as **Educamus** and courses at the colleges of continuing training be employed to relay the decisions of the Language Boards. Means of informing the public of these decisions also need to be found. (Cf. also recommendations under 9.10.)

- Teachers, learners and the community must realise that the African languages must be treated with the same level of seriousness accorded to the content subjects in the curriculum. People learn and develop through language. Love and respect for the African languages is essential if these languages are to take their rightful place in society.

- It must be kept in mind that all languages develop and expand - even standard ones. The challenge to the teachers of the African languages in their pursuit of maintaining standard languages, is to encourage the retention of words which do not need to be substituted. Furthermore, it is perhaps better to adopt words from the sister African languages rather than from the European languages which are far more removed from the African languages, unless the need is for a technical term which does not occur in any of the African languages (Malimabe, 1990:88).

8.10 CONCLUSIONS

In light of the language scenarios sketched and problems pointed out above, it is not surprising that there is such a high failure rate in the mother tongue subjects. In the section(s) of this report dealing with Education and Language Planning, possible solutions to these problems will be explored. The fact that pupils score better at language subjects such as

English and Afrikaans than what they do at the African languages, is a situation which needs to be rectified and requires urgent attention. Changes in the attitudes of teachers as well as pupils are also required if there is to be any improvement in the current situation.

The question which now arises, is whether educationists could or should solve any of the problems caused by the use of these varieties in the school, by means of language education policies. Although the content of such policies could form the subject matter of a separate research project, indications of the implications of the phenomena discussed in this chapter, for education, and recommendations for dealing with the situation will be provided in Chapter 10.

CHAPTER 9: LANGUAGE PLANNING

9.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapters have described the nature of the non-standard African language varieties, their origin, as well as their impact on the use of the standard language, especially in the classroom situation. The aim of the present chapter is to investigate the implications of this impact in terms of language planning for the African languages. The main question is whether anything can or should be done (from a language planning point of view) to manage this impact.

Other language planning issues to be considered here are the role of the media, the provision of guidelines for the acceptability of adoptives, the functioning of the African Language Boards and recommendations for increasing their effectiveness.

9.2 A DEFINITION OF LANGUAGE PLANNING

According to Fasold (Thipa, 1989:143) there are basically two approaches to language planning, namely the instrumentalist and the sociolinguistic approaches. The *instrumentalist* approach sees language as a tool which can be improved by conscious efforts, while the *sociolinguistic* approach sees language as a societal resource which can be developed through planning efforts.

A distinction should be drawn at this stage between language planning in terms of national language policies (status planning), and language planning in terms of an individual language and its characteristics (corpus planning). Status planning is, for instance, concerned with the selection of the kind of language to be used for official purposes in government and educational institutions. Corpus planning, on the other hand, is concerned with lexical development, for example the extension of the vocabulary, the creation of terms, codification, and standardisation. It is the latter type of planning which is of concern here.

In this light, Haugen's (Thipa, 1989:141) definition of language planning as

> the evaluation of linguistic change ... the exercise of judgement in the form of options among available linguistic forms

linked to that of Rubin (Thipa, 1989:142) who sees language planning as

> DELIBERATE language change ... changes in the systems of a language code or speaking or both that are planned by organizations established for such purposes or given a mandate to fulfil such purposes

capture the essence of the implications of the research presented here, for language planning.

A different way of looking at the distinction between status and corpus planning, would be to follow Paulston's (Thipa, 1989:142) approach to solving language problems. She proposes that one has to identify, analyse and treat them in order to understand whether these problems are actually language problems, or whether they are in fact symptomatic of social or cultural problems (Paulston in Thipa, 1989:142). Consequently, she distinguishes between what she calls "language cultivation" which deals with language matters, and "language policy" which deals with social and national matters, although these two processes are interrelated. "Language cultivation" clearly shows similarities to "corpus planning", while "language policy" seems to be similar to "status planning". (Note that Thipa, 1989:144 provides a graphic representation of the various approaches to language planning.)

Various language "problems" have been discussed in this report, *inter alia* standardisation, the variety of language most appropriate in certain settings, and the issue of the medium of instruction. Language cultivation (corpus planning) in order to deal with these problems, forms the focus of this chapter.

9.3 THE NATURE OF LANGUAGE PLANNING

In solving the language problems referred to above, sight must not be lost of the fact that language is a societal resource whose main function is communication. According to Ferguson (Thipa, 1989:146) there are two assumptions which underlie language planning. The first of these, is that language changes in the course of time. The second, is that language users in all speech communities evaluate the forms of language they use in terms of whether these are "better", "more correct", or "more acceptable", than other forms (in an absolute sense, or as used for certain purposes, or as used by particular people in particular settings).

Much of the change which a language undergoes is related to its evaluation by the users, and in some cases to conscious, deliberate attempts to influence the course of change. Such deliberate change is effected either for the purposes of innovation, to preserve the *status quo*, or to contribute to the process of change. The manner in which the native speakers of a language evaluate their language, may reflect shared values, individual attitudes, idealisations, or even stereotypes. There may also exist what Ferguson (Thipa, 1989:147) calls "rationalised evaluation", where a given linguistic form is preferred because it is regarded as consistent with other related forms, or because it is original, or because it "sounds better". According to Thipa (*op. cit.*), most language planning involves such "rationalised evaluation".

Thipa (*op. cit.*) indicates that the sphere of language (corpus) planning includes phonology, morphology, syntax and vocabulary and may be categorised as follows: (a) graphisation, for example spelling and orthography; (b) standardisation; and (c) modernisation, i.e. the expansion and development of the lexicon. The research reported on here, was mainly concerned with categories (b), and (c).

9.4 THE STAGES OF LANGUAGE PLANNING

Any kind of planning is a process which consists of various steps to be taken in order to reach a particular goal. So too it is with language planning. These stages would obviously differ

according to the set objective, but Rubin (Thipa, 1989:149) distinguished four stages in language planning, which seem to set out to achieve a goal similar to the one with which the present research is concerned, i.e. adapting the standard language to keep up with modern trends. The four stages which Rubin distinguishes are:

(a) fact-finding: this relates to getting the relevant background information on the situation in which planning is to be effected, for example, the sociolinguistic setting of the intended plan and the needs of the target group. Rubin states that it is important for the language planner to be familiar with the constraints, tendencies and rationales which existing social, cultural, political and economic parameters offer;
(b) actual planning: this involves the establishment of objectives, the selection of means or strategies and the prediction of possible outcomes. Various decision-making personnel need to be involved at this stage;
(c) implementation: which is the putting into effect of the proposed plan or of the planning decisions, for example by schools; and
(d) feedback or evaluation: which involves the discovery of how well the plan has worked. Here the planner assesses whether the actual outcome matches his predicted outcome. This is an important phase as it forms the foundation for modifications to the original strategies, in order to match the actual outcome to the predicted outcome.

Although these stages are helpful in understanding the planning process, it remains a **process** in the sense that planning is not a series of consecutive steps but rather a process wherein certain steps (stages) come into play at certain times.

Other explanations of the stages of language planning refer to steps such as norm selection, codification, implementation and elaboration. More details on these may be found in Thipa (1989:150-151). However, these are mentioned here, because "elaboration" (according to Haugen in Thipa, 1989:151) involves

> the expansion of language functions and the assignment of new codes, such as scientific and technological.

This is what is generally referred to as modernisation or intellectualisation, and it is the stage with which this research is most concerned. In terms of Rubin's four stages of language planning, this research can only contribute to the first stage. **The contribution of this programme therefore lies therein that it presents scientifically gathered and research-based information which can be used by language planners to conduct the modernisation of the African languages referred to above.**

9.5 TYPICAL PROBLEMS EXPERIENCED DURING LANGUAGE PLANNING

Various such problems exist, and only a few relevant ones will be mentioned here. The planning of **appropriate improvements**, i.e. the adaptation of a language or variety to meet new cultural and social needs, has already been alluded to above. **Prioritisation of language areas to be addressed** in the planning process is a further problem area. The problem of **language boundaries**, i.e. what counts as a language and what as a dialect, is also a very real

problem in this research. Lastly, a very important question to be addressed in terms of the African languages, is that of **"how" and "by whom"** language planning goals are decided.

9.6 LANGUAGE PLANNING IN SOUTH AFRICA

The history of language planning in South Africa can, according to Thipa (1989:153), be traced back to the policy of Dutchification applied by the Dutch East India Company, followed by the policy of Anglicisation of the British governors, and the policy of bilingualism introduced by the first Nationalist Government. Language planning studies drew more attention with the concern amongst various linguists for the future of Afrikaans. It is clear from its origins and development, that language planning has always been a highly politicised issue in this country.

9.7 IMPLICATIONS OF THIS RESEARCH FOR LANGUAGE PLANNING

It was mentioned earlier that language planning entails the identification of language problems, and that this is the area in which the current research can contribute the most. Thipa (1989:157) indicates, for instance, that the existence of rural and urban Xhosa varieties points to one such problem insofar as standardisation and actual communication are concerned. He indicates that an evaluation of rural and urban varieties of Xhosa is required, in order to establish a variety which can be recommended for use. Such an exercise would obviously take time. However, its necessity becomes evident once it is realised that there is a need to eliminate the inconveniences and inadequacies in the Xhosa vocabulary, which have arisen out of the necessity to adapt Xhosa to modern times in order to make the language more efficient. This statement can in fact be said to hold true for all the African languages.

The identification and understanding of language problems should, however, take into account both **linguistic phenomena** and the **socio-political motivations for such problems**. Some linguists would argue that language problems can only be understood when they are related to the more general processes occurring within a society. Thipa (1989:159) rightfully argues that language is assuming increasing importance in modern society. The demands of modern times with their concurrent high technology, lead to problems of terminology which are real in all the African languages. This likewise highlights the importance of a sound and scientific theory of language planning, void of partisan inclinations and ideological considerations.

The research reported on here, has highlighted problems in the use of the African languages, of which we have in the past only seen the symptoms (grammatical errors in classwork, the use of non-standard varieties in- and outside the classroom; the use of numerous adoptives, etc.). For the first time, we now have a systematic description of the causes as well as the symptoms of these problems. It is now up to the language planning bodies to use this information in an attempt to solve these problems.

Paulston (Thipa, 1989:160) warns, however, that

> [u]nfortunately, government officials do not often base language decisions on language data, either out of ignorance or because political considerations are given prominence.

The involvement of mother tongue speakers in this planning is therefore essential, but such speakers should have the necessary qualifications as well as teaching experience to equip them to the task. Although Thipa (1989:162) does not negate the value of input by non-mother tongue speakers, he feels strongly that language planning should first and foremost be the responsibility of competent mother tongue speakers. One of the reasons for this, is that language is part of culture, and as such it is important for decision-makers to have been exposed to the cultural milieu within which a particular language functions.

Mathumba (1993:211) adds that language projects should be adequately funded by the government. Money invested in such projects is bound to pay dividends as language is a vehicle of culture and as such is important to the identity and self-esteem of its speakers. Without a language, the culture of the nation will cease to exist. He concludes with the following words:

> It will be a sad day when the Tsonga people land in such a dilemma because of ill-conceived language planning.

9.8 THE MEDIA

The media play a significant role in the language activities of a community. Not only do they form a barometer for measuring language changes and acceptability of changes in the speech community, but they also serve as a role model for correct and acceptable language use.

However, the electronic media also contribute to linguistic interference. Malimabe (1990:75) indicates that **direct translations** are often used on television and radio, e.g.

Tswana:
Ga ba na lerapo la mokokotlo. instead of **Ga ba na maitsetsepelo.**
'They don't have any back-bone.'

Children often pick these expressions up from the media as they are not able to distinguish between correct and incorrect language use. Malimabe indicates that this is contributing to the development of non-standard varieties such as the BUVs.

The reasons given by television and radio announcers for the use of such expressions, are that they are often forced to shorten their sentences or use adoptives due to time constraints. In many adverts, which have to be time conscious due to the costs of airtime, words like Tsw. **lebati la bojelo** 'table' are replaced by adoptives, as the standard terms are too long and time consuming.

Mathumba (1993:210) emphasises that the school and the radio are two domains which have an important role to play in the formulation of language, and which need urgent attention. The implications of this research for education, form the focus of the following chapter. As far as the radio is concerned, Mathumba (1993:211) states that it is a very powerful medium of language use, and that it should therefore be seen as a priority that the language used in this medium is exemplary and in accordance with the guidelines of the codifying body (the Language Board). Unacceptable words used in the media can become ingrained in the language use of the listeners (or viewers), especially among the younger generation. Calteaux's research (1994:121) also indicated that the radio and especially the television, are important role-models for the younger children and that much of their (slang) language is picked up from these media.

Mathumba recommends that the media industry should work with the Language Boards to keep language use in the media as "pure" as possible. This may solve some problems regarding interference from other African languages (or dialects of the same language), as well as from the European languages.

However, the flipside of the coin is that the new Draft Language Policy document of the SABC (October, 1994), recognises and accepts, for the first time, that there is variation within language and that reflection of this variation in programming will *provide access* to broadcasting to all South Africans. This document states that the SABC "recognises that languages are not static, but dynamic, continuously evolving and developing and changing to meet the needs and circumstances of their use. Accordingly the SABC shall be sensitive to these dynamics and needs in its programming ..." (SABC, 1994:5).

The document also states (1994:6) that "[v]ariants within languages shall be recognised", makes mention of the significance of "shared languages", and states that "[b]ecause many South Africans are multilingual and share some languages in common, shared languages enable people with different home languages to communicate and to share programmes."

Sensitivity to the "variety of forms and context in which these languages are spoken in their communities" is also stated as an objective of the National Radio Services (SABC, 1994:8).

The document also states that the SABC will run commercial services in which the languages employed "will be based on market requirements". This refers to trends in "niche" broadcasting (and marketing).

The recognition of non-standard varieties within languages and acceptance of these by the media, constitutes a major advance in providing access to broadcasting to all South Africans. No mention is made in the document, however, of how these language varieties will be dealt with.

9.9 THE AFRICAN LANGUAGE BOARDS

Although the African language Boards became autonomous in 1977, with the responsibility for the African languages in theory being given over to mother tongue speakers, Thipa (1989:161) indicates that the (Nationalist) Government retained a hold over these Boards. A

result of this, is that the development of the African languages was guided by the ideologies of that Government. The question of who does the planning, and how, is therefore an important one which has to be addressed seriously.

Mathumba (1993:124, 125) indicates that the occurrence of non-standard forms in the work of pupils and in the language use of the general public can be attributed to two factors. Firstly, the fact that the Tsonga Language Board standardised the Tsonga orthography but not pronunciation creates the problem that the form of the language which the students hear in the classrooms and lecture-halls is as varied as there are representatives of the various dialects in those places. The same situation prevails in religious services, public meetings, and radio broadcasts. The Language Board's ruling that different words used in the different dialects for the same referent should be regarded as synonyms and are therefore acceptable in standard Tsonga usage, exacerbates the situation as it is misconstrued as license to spell words the way they are pronounced in the different dialects.

Secondly, pure ignorance of the decisions and rulings of the Tsonga Language Board also contributes to the use of non-standard forms. Mathumba (1993:125) indicates that his research revealed that the decisions of the Language Board do not reach the educators or the general public.

A further complication is referred to by Malimabe (1990:7) who indicates that a new Terminology has been approved for Tswana, in which words from different dialects have been considered and accepted as "standard" by the Tswana Language Board. The reason given for the decision to regard these words as synonyms, is that "even if Sehurutshe has been taken as the basis for standard Setswana, not all the words and phrases from Sehurutshe are regarded as standard".

The fact that difficulties and disagreements arise regarding the normative correctness of certain linguistic elements in standard Tswana, indicates that dialectical differences play a major role in language use and can often complicate the standardisation of a language. Further complications arise from the fact that language is dynamic and changes over time.

It has been emphasised before that the current Language Boards are dysfunctional. Nevertheless, given the mammoth task of modernising the African languages and solving some of the language use problems mentioned in this report, the need for bodies such as the Language Boards, is evident. These bodies have to be restructured, however, and equipped to fulfil their task. Suggestions for such restructuring appear below.

9.10 RECOMMENDATIONS REGARDING THE LANGUAGE BOARDS

Mathumba (1993:208-210) makes the following recommendations with regard to the Tsonga Language Board. These may, however, be generalised to all the Language Boards (cf. also Thipa, 1989:179,180):

- the constitution of the Tsonga Language Board should be revisited and any clauses which may result in the delay of the processing of information, should be amended;

- the composition of the Tsonga Language Board should be re-evaluated so that a sizeable portion of its members are people with a good knowledge of linguistics and language planning. Thipa calls for post-graduate academic qualifications and teaching experience to be prerequisites for membership of a Language Board. A balance should also be found between representatives from the different dialects;
- the Board should not develop into a forum where politicians, language experts and educationists "manufacture" language. Innovations in the language should come from the speakers and not be imposed on them by a Language Board. Thipa suggests that Language Boards need to broaden their base by consulting and liaising with speakers of the languages, as well as teachers, pupils and students;
- the modus operandi of the Tsonga Language Board should include the following:
  - adequate and intensive research into various language issues before rulings or recommendations are made, with recognition that language is not born in a boardroom but is the product of the masses;
  - all recommendations and rulings of the Language Board should be circulated among the speakers of the language to obtain the necessary feedback, and final decision should be made based on this feedback;
  - the rulings and recommendations must be disseminated among all the users of the language. Guidelines on spelling and orthography should be separated from the **Tsonga: Terminology and Orthography** and published in pamphlet form. This would make the information more accessible to interested parties and readily available. Revisions of the pamphlet would also be easier than revisions of the bulky and expensive terminology book;
  - as an interim measure - before the issuing of a new edition of the pamphlet - rulings and recommendations should be published in circulating media such as **Mhalamhala** and **Educamus**;
  - all changes to rulings should be motivated and backed up by thorough research;
  - dictionaries should be compiled in which lexical items from the various dialects are entered as Tsonga. In compiling these, a broadminded and accommodating view should be the guiding principle (no dialectalism should be permitted).

9.11 THE ROLE OF A PAN SOUTH AFRICAN LANGUAGE BOARD

It is further evident from the research presented here, that South Africa is in need of a similar body to the Tanzanian *Baraza la Kiswahili la Taifa* or BAKITA for short. Mdee (Koopman, 1994:20) explains the role of this board as follows:

> Initially the adaptation of foreign words was haphazard, i.e. they were adopted voluntarily by the speakers as the need arose ... Today the incorporation of loan words into Kiswahili is controlled by BAKITA, which has the ultimate say on which foreign words are to be borrowed by Kiswahili, why they should be borrowed and how they should be adapted phonologically and graphically.

In South Africa, such a body could be established under the auspices of the Pan South African Language Board (PSALB) (cf. PSALB Discussion Document, March 1995). Such a body must include representatives from all the African languages in South Africa to ensure equal catering to the needs of specific languages. In this way, adoption may be "standardised"

across languages without losing sight of the individual needs of languages (cf. also Thipa, 1989:180 in this regard).

Mother tongue speakers with the requisite knowledge and experience of language planning, education and linguistics would be the ideal candidates to serve on such a standardisation body. The focus of such a body should not be the coining of new terms in the African languages, as is presently the main function fulfilled by the Language Boards. The standardisation body should rather focus on providing guidelines for adoption from a language planning (modernisation) point of view as well as from the point of view of linguistics, (i.e. keeping in mind the rules of the language(s) in question). It is also imperative that guidelines be drawn up for education, in terms of syllabus development, as well as teacher training. In this manner, it may be possible to bring "haphazard" and "voluntary" adoption by speakers, under control.

This "standardising body" might also look into the question of orthography. Thipa (1989:178) indicates that it is not always clear on which grounds the Language Boards have made certain decisions. The decision to write sounds which have similar pronunciations differently in different languages, often leads to confusion, e.g.

Xhosa:	**isithsaba**	'crown'
Sesotho:	**setshaba**	'crown'
Xhosa:	**irhamba**	'puffadder'
Sesotho:	**sekgo**	'spider'

Due to problems such as these, Thipa (1989:179) recommends that there should be closer liaison between the various African Language Boards, despite the fact that languages have differing needs and distinctive features. (At the time when Thipa completed his report, the idea of a Pan South African Language Board was only a dream.)

More meaningful results might be achieved with regard to standardisation, if the deliberations took into account the opinions of a wider knowledge base, such as language planners, linguists, educationists, and the ordinary man in the street (Thipa, 1989:180). Thipa proposes that a sample of terms should be tested with a variety of speakers, before decisions regarding standardisation, are made.

The creation of a Pan South African Language Board (PSALB) which will be responsible for the linguistic and social development of all the languages in South Africa, is envisaged in the Interim Constitution. Proposals for the structure of PSALB are set out in their Discussion Document (1995:21-26). (Cf. also the proposals made in the ACTAG Draft Report, 1995: 234,235.)

It is possible that the body referred to above, could form one of the envisaged Language Commissions of PSALB. Refer to the Discussion Document (1995:24-26) for more information on these commissions.

9.12 GUIDELINES FOR THE ACCEPTABILITY OF ADOPTIVES IN A LANGUAGE

Mathumba (1993:195) emphasises that it is impossible to prevent foreign elements from filtering into a language. He proposes a more realistic and pragmatic approach whereby each innovation is examined against certain yardsticks.

Mathumba suggests that a minimum time span should perhaps be set for the use of adoptives. Although it is not entirely clear at which time a new term becomes acceptable, Thipa (1989:140) indicates that "usage" plays an important role in determining whether a new word is acceptable and survives as part of the language. Usage factors include such factors as whether the new word fills a need or a gap in the lexicon of the adopting language. Adoptives which bridge this time span (Mathumba mentions five years) would qualify for permanent status and general acceptance in the language community. A second factor might be frequency and (spatial) spread of use. Adoptives which have been in use for a certain period of time and are widely used in a community, should then be accepted into the language.

Malimabe (1990:16) indicates that in order for an adoptive to be accepted into the lexicon of a language, it should be phonetically, phonologically, morphologically and lexically adapted into the grammatical system of the adopting language. The adaptation of adoptives to fit into the systems of different African languages, has been discussed in detail in the body of this report.

Such an approach obviously presupposes a codifying body such as a language board. Such a language board should be engaged in ongoing research to establish whether language innovations match the required norms and principles. Such a body should also publish their guidelines (Mathumba, 1993:196).

One drawback of standardisation is the fact that it can only effectively be applied to the written form. Non-standard pronunciation and the use of adoptives in spoken language, cannot be ruled out (Mathumba, *op. cit.*).

9.13 LANGUAGE PLANNING VIS-À-VIS THE NON-STANDARD VARIETIES

It was stated at the beginning of this chapter, that the implications of the non-standard varieties for language planning need to be addressed.

Khumalo (1995:126,127) recommends that the non-standard varieties should be institutionalised and recognised as languages in their own right. Cognisance should be taken of the fact that non-standard language varieties serve the function of promoting harmonious relationships between different language groups. As such, these varieties deserve the attention of language planners. Given the history of inequality in this country, the fundamental principle of language equality should lead to recognition of the non-standard varieties alongside the standard languages. This recognition should also permeate through to the education system.

Khumalo suggests that role-models in society, such as professionals, language experts, sociolinguists, and language planners should be open-minded about the non-standard varieties. Bearing in mind that the function of a language may change over time, these people should recommend a high degree of autonomy for these non-standard varieties.

In terms of the sociolinguistic functions of languages set out under (2.12.2.4), it would seem that Khumalo is calling for recognition of the functions of the non-standard varieties as languages of wider communication with the possibility that some of these varieties may one day have an educational function as well.

On the other hand, Thipa (1989:165) is of the opinion that a language policy should be adopted which, while not actively encouraging non-standard language varieties, nevertheless recognises and accommodates such varieties.

More detailed research on the implications of the various language planning approaches towards the elaboration of the functions of the non-standard varieties is needed before further decisions in this regard can be taken. Decisions in this regard must take into consideration the attitudes of the speech community towards the various proposals which are made.

It would appear, however, that acceptance of non-standard varieties is increasing. The equal attention to arts and culture (which includes language) proposed in the ACTAG Draft Report (1995), for example, opens up the possibility for non-standard varieties to be employed in various art forms. Apart from enhancing acceptance of these varieties, such an approach could also lead to more insight into these varieties. By providing opportunities to speakers of the non-standard varieties for expressing themselves in their own languages, their artistic creativity may be fostered and a sense of pride in these languages may be developed.

There has also been some talk over a period of time about the need for dictionaries in some of the non-standard varieties, e.g. in Tsotsitaal. Zungu (1995:198) likewise supports dictionaries for Zulu slang and Zulu koinés (BUVs), arguing that many non-standard words are "perfect Zulu words which lack recognition, although they are employed by approximately 60% of the Durban speech community". The fact that non-standard varieties such as Afrikaans-based Tsotsitaal are in effect "dying out" as the elderly speakers of the variety pass away, lends merit to the idea of a dictionary of Tsotsitaal. If we want to capture some of the original flavour of this variety in writing, it should be done soon.

9.14 LIMITATIONS OF LANGUAGE PLANNING

It will have become apparent from the preceding discussion, that language planning presupposes **change**, and it is in this area that the limitations of language planning are most evident. The language planner has to establish and deal with the limitations of change. There are also unpredictable variables which set limitations on the predictability of outcomes, as well as vested interests which could run contrary to the entire exercise of language planning (Rubin in Thipa, 1989:166).

But, perhaps the greatest limitation of language planning is **acceptance**. The target population for which the language planning is intended, may not accept the proposed innovation in

language. Thipa (*op. cit.*) distinguishes three criteria which he feels may decide the acceptability of a given linguistic innovation. These are (a) its efficiency, i.e. ease of learning and use; (b) the adequacy or precision with which the information is relayed; and (c) actual acceptance by the members of society where the planning is taking place. These three issues also need to be kept in mind during the language planning process.

Lastly, Thipa (1989:167) quotes Alisjahbana's comment that

> We should only speak of language planning in a limited sense and for a very special goal. Nobody should think of planning for all the language behaviour of all the members of a nation. Such rigid regimentation would also mean the end of man as a thinking and free being.

Language planning cannot fulfil in everyone's needs, there has to be a norm against which to measure deviation. However, language, by its very nature, is dynamic and changing, so that the "norm" can never be static. The setting of this norm in a realistic and creative manner is, therefore, the challenge facing us today.

9.15 CONCLUSIONS

One of the conclusions reached by Thipa (1989:167) is the need to re-examine the role of language varieties in everyday communication and in the teaching situation.

The whole idea of standardising a language revolves around the functional efficiency of the language, i.e. everyone should be able to understand and use the language in the same way with minimum misunderstanding. Given this and the language contact situation in the urban areas of our country, the need for modernisation of the African languages becomes even more evident.

The adoption of several resolutions regarding the promotion of the African languages, during the **Second International LiCCA Conference** (held in Maseru, Lesotho during September 1993), entailed various elaborations of the functions of the standard languages (cf. Appendix of PSALB Discussion Document, 1995:29,30). Such an elaboration of functions, implies serious corpus planning for the African languages and especially the development of terminology in the new functional domains of the African languages. This in turn, implies the need for corpus planning bodies such as the language commissions proposed under the auspices of a Pan South African Language Board.

CHAPTER 10: IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATION

10.1 INTRODUCTION

In Chapter 1 it was indicated that the STANON programme can contribute to issues in Education, in particular issues related to the teaching of the African languages. The preceding chapters have elucidated various aspects of the influence of non-standard varieties on the form and use of the standard language. The present chapter will aim to place these influences in the context of education, and discuss the implications of the research in terms of the teaching of the African languages. The structure of the discussion will follow the order of the proposed contributions as set out under 1.3.4. The aim is to summarise much of the preceding discussion in terms of implications for education, and to clarify some of the issues by means of references to literature which discuss these.

The Arts and Culture Task Group (ACTAG) Draft Report (1995:218) indicates that "[a]dequate provision for the language and literary needs of all South Africans through education, depends on the establishment of an educational culture based on democratic accountability and the full participation of all parties in the governance of education at all levels. This will provide a participatory basis for developing curricula which are sensitive to, and cater for the language and cultural needs of all South Africans.
At the same time a language and literary approach, which explores the commonalities and diversity of South African society founded on the principles of multilingualism and related to the multi-cultural reality of society, seems appropriate for South Africa."

This implies a new language policy for education, founded on the principle of multilingualism and involving all stakeholders in its planning.

It may be pertinent to mention here, that the recent policy documents and discussion papers regarding language issues and education (e.g. the White Paper on Education; the Policy Discussion Paper of the Pan South African Language Board (PSALB); and the Draft Report of the Arts and Culture Task Group (ACTAG)) make no mention of non-standard varieties or their role in society. Only one statement could be found which alludes to the existence of such varieties, *viz.* "Each of the officially recognised languages of South Africa represents a range of language varieties ... The language situation in the metropolitan areas is further complicated by the emergence and wide-spread use of hybrid vernaculars as vehicles of communication (e.g. Flaaitaal)" (PSALB, 1995:8). No mention is made, however, of the impact which these languages have on the use of the standard languages, nor of the implications of this impact in terms of education. Neither are any definitions given of "language", "mother tongue" or of "home language". It is thus not clear, for instance, whether references to "the fostering of respect for languages spoken in South Africa ..." (PSALB, 1995:20), include or exclude non-standard varieties. This makes it imperative that the information presented here be brought to the attention of the education authorities (as well as to that of ACTAG and PSALB) without delay.

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10.2 MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION

10.2.1 Language diversity in the classroom

In the chapter on the language situation in the schools and in various other discussions throughout the report, it has become clear that multilingual schools are inevitable in the urban areas of South Africa. The reality is that it is impossible to provide enough schools to cater for the needs of each and every language group.

The result of this reality, is that children from different language backgrounds are forced to attend the same school. Within such a scenario, it is inevitable that a common medium of communication will be sought. Given the fact that competence in English is not on level par for all those concerned, and that there is no shared knowledge of a particular standard African language, the use of a non-standard variety (one which is likely to be characterised by codeswitching between English or Afrikaans and an African language) becomes the strategy employed for the purpose of communication.

Although codeswitching in itself may be regarded as a resource which, if used in a structured and systematic way, may enhance learning, it may also have a negative impact especially when used in the mother tongue (vernacular) classes. The impact of codeswitching on the use and acquisition of the standard African languages, is what is under consideration here, and it is argued that such practice endangers the standard languages.

The reality of language diversity in the classroom has various implications for education. The main ones are discussed below. Others, such as the link between language diversity and cultural diversity, or the deliberate use of language as a vehicle of disempowerment, open up other fields of concern (multicultural education and non-racist education) which cannot be dealt with here. Recent literature (cf. Oliver-Shaw, 1994; Altschul, 1993; Swartz, 1993; Beckmann, 1992) has identified these issues as current areas of concern in education, and discuss them in more detail.

10.2.2 Problems related to "mother tongue" instruction

The quest for a re-assessment of the terminology

Current education policy dictates that pupils receive mother tongue instruction in the first four years of schooling whereafter parents can decide whether the medium of instruction should remain the mother tongue or be changed to either English or Afrikaans (cf. also Schuring, 1995:11). At present this policy most often results in the use of the "mother tongue" as medium of instruction in the first four years of schooling (Sub A to the end of Std. 2), after which there is an abrupt switch to English as medium of instruction from the fifth year (Std. 3) onwards. The problems associated with this switch over have been analysed in depth in the Threshold Project (MacDonald, 1990) and will not be repeated here. The issue at hand here, is the implications of the use of the "mother tongue" as medium of instruction in the first four years of schooling.

The proposal made by ACTAG (1995:219) is that an educational system founded on multilingualism is recommended, in which pupils and parents have at least the following two options:

- One, the right to home language education, along with the possibility of learning at least one, but preferably more than one South African language of one's choice.

- Two, the right to initial home language education, with later gradual transition to second language education, including continued home language study as a subject.

It has already been alluded in previous chapters, that the meaning of the term "mother tongue" (and the same goes for "home language") needs to be redefined. In the past, "mother tongue" in the African language context, referred to a "pure" or "standard" African language, largely uncontaminated by foreign languages (Calteaux, 1994:183). This may still be largely true in the rural areas of our country. However, in the urban areas, inter-ethnic marriages and a high degree of language contact have changed the nature of the "mother tongue". In these areas, the BUV or other non-standard language varieties such as Tsotsitaal and Iscamtho, are often employed as home languages (mother tongues) these days. It can therefore be expected that the children growing up in homes where non-standard varieties are being used, will acquire **these** as "mother tongues" and not a "standard" language. **Although the term "mother tongue" is currently still used in literature and in language policy to refer to a "standard" language (cf. PSALB, 1995:7), a new understanding of this term and what it refers to is essential. It can in fact be argued that such a new understanding is fundamental to a new education policy.**

Implications of non-standard mother tongues for education

The implications of the "mother tongue" (and "home language") no longer being a "standard" language, are severe. Firstly, there is the question of language acquisition and language competence. The early years of language acquisition, form the foundation of language knowledge in later years. The fact that the children are not acquiring a "pure" language in the home (i.e. at the earliest age), means that their language usage will possibly be contaminated for the rest of their lives. In many cases, children are no longer able to distinguish between "correct" and "incorrect" language usage, or between what counts as Zulu words or constructions, and what counts as Sotho words, or constructions. This obviously also has implications for their performance at school (as indicated by Malimabe in 8.4).

The ACTAG Report (1995:221,222) also emphasises the importance of the quality, range and types of language skills acquired during the formative years of schooling. They make the point that "[i]f literature and language are taught in rigid, normative styles with little emphasis on self-expression, dialogue, criticism and creativity, language can become a tool of oppression and an impediment to self-realization". This underlines the point made above that the term "mother tongue" must be re-defined, so that "mother tongue" instruction does not in itself become a vehicle of "oppression and an impediment to self-realization".

Secondly, the formation of an own identity is also affected. The implications for cultural identity and maintenance of traditions and culture are obviously serious. Many parents are concerned that their children no longer have a cultural identity, and one of the main objections to the use of non-standard languages, can be summarised in these words of a respondent: "they are killing our culture" (Calteaux, 1994:172).

Thirdly, the implications for education are that the teaching of the African languages as subjects based on "first language" teaching methods and approach, is no longer appropriate or adequate. The teaching of African languages as "second languages" may be more appropriate. It may not be necessary to continue the "second" language approach throughout the school years, and a gradual switch to a "first" language approach may be quite appropriate once a sound foundation has been laid in the pupils knowledge of the standard language. It would be inappropriate to define further details of such an approach here, as further development of these ideas is required.

A further implication is that the use of a standard language as medium of instruction in the first four years of schooling, is no longer appropriate either. It may be argued that many of the problems which young children experience at school, may be as a result of the fact that they do not understand what is being taught to them.

The latter implication gains further importance in the light of the ACTAG proposal (1995:219) that "[t]he current situation where only English and Afrikaans speakers receive education in their home languages throughout primary and secondary schooling, must be changed to accommodate first language education at primary and secondary levels in all languages". No definition of "home language" is given, so that we must assume that the term is used to refer to standard (African) languages. Their proposal does not, therefore, take cognisance of the fact that standard languages are seldom employed as home languages in the urban areas these days.

The question of "standard" language

The discussion above was based on the assumption that the "standard" language should be the medium of instruction. However, this issue too is debatable. Van De Rheede (1994:167) points out for instance, that sociolinguistic research has proven that language varieties are inherently equal. Use of the "standard" form of the language as medium of instruction can therefore be questioned. In other words, should the school system continue to promote "standard" language as the medium of instruction, or should children be allowed to use forms of language which come naturally to them?

Arguments for the promotion of standard language include (a) that standard language usage is linked to "correct" usage of language, i.e. should children be allowed to use forms of language to which they are accustomed, it will lead to incorrect language use; (b) that standard language is "good" language use, i.e. children need to learn a standard language so that they will be able to express themselves eloquently; and (c) that standard language is linked to scholastic achievement, i.e. it enables the child to acquire basic language skills (Van De Rheede, 1994: 167-171).

Van De Rheede disputes these assumptions and indicates that the standard language is not used because it is more "correct" in any way, but because its use carries certain economic and social benefits. He supports the use of standard language in its written form, but argues against the imposition of its spoken form.

Van De Rheede also discusses three models for managing language variation in the classroom. These are *eradication*, i.e. eliminating non-standard varieties at school level (cf. also Edwards, 1984:566); *bi-dialectalism*, i.e. equal recognition of standard and non-standard language varieties with education taking place in the standard language without any attempt at eliminating the non-standard language use of the child; and *appreciation of dialectical differences*. Supporters of the latter approach argue for a change in attitudes towards the non-standard language varieties and reject attempts at changing the language varieties themselves.

Any attempt at upliftment of the non-standard varieties must take the attitudes of society into consideration. For this reason, Van De Rheede (1994:174) supports the bi-dialectalism approach in which the stigmatised non-standard varieties are acknowledged alongside the standard language. Such acknowledgement will allow pupils to express themselves in their own form of language and encourage them to actively partake in classroom activities. This will in turn increase the quality of education, sensitise pupils to social stigmatisation of language, and stimulate their endeavour to acquire the standard language. Such an approach will also decrease estrangement from the home language, increase the self image of pupils, and provide them with the opportunity to gain access to the wider social and economic spheres of life.

Van De Rheede's arguments are based on the situation surrounding standard Afrikaans in education, and will have to be re-interpreted in terms of the situation in the African languages. Many of his arguments seem valid for any standard language however, although it must be stated that the situation with non-standard varieties in the African languages is more complex than in Afrikaans or English.

The aim of the present research was only to highlight the problems which need to be addressed in regard to language variation in the African language classrooms. An analysis of strategies for dealing with this variation, lies outside the scope of the present report (cf. for instance Schuring, 1995:41-44). Nevertheless, it is clear that the language education policy is in serious need of re-assessment and adaptation to the current needs of society (especially in urban areas). Ways of addressing the problems expressed above, must be found. This issue also has to do with curriculum development, which will be discussed in more detail under 10.3.

10.2.3 The choice of English as medium of instruction

In most secondary schools, the medium of instruction for the content subjects is English. However, STANON research has indicated that this situation too is fraught with problems. The use of English as medium of instruction is also not always satisfactory as many pupils are not sufficiently competent in English to understand the entire contents of each lesson. Van Zyl Slabbert *et al.* (1994:109) indicate, that the 1991 census statistics showed that 49 percent of the black youth between 15 and 24 years of age, cannot speak, read or write English. The

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misperception that most South Africans understand English and that it is the language most widely used in our country, is also highlighted in the PSALB Discussion Document (1995:12).

This lack of competence in English, means that these more than two million youths will experience immense difficulties in attending secondary schools or training institutions because the medium of instruction is always English (or Afrikaans). As in many other African countries, the medium of instruction is effectively barring them from obtaining any proper educational qualification or occupation (Van Zyl Slabbert *et al.*, 1994:109).

In order to deal in the content subject classrooms with this lack of competence in English, teachers often resort to a BUV or even one of the colloquialised argots to explain subject content to the pupils. The use of these non-standard varieties in such a formal domain as the classroom, not only indicates an expansion of the functions of these varieties, but also an ousting of the standard languages in formal domains. This obviously has serious consequences for the form and function of the standard languages. The situation is exacerbated by the fact that the youth tend to prefer English to the standard African languages due to the prestige associated with the use of English. It is clear that steps have to be taken to improve pupils' competence in English.

One possibility would be the introduction of "upgrade courses" for English. Such courses would enable students to understand the contents of lectures and decrease the need for the use of non-standard varieties in order to explain things which pupils do not understand in English. It is possible that the approach to the teaching of English as a subject should be adapted to address such needs. Further discussion of this issue unfortunately lies beyond the scope of this report.

The situation becomes even more critical when teachers resort to the use of non-standard varieties or English in teaching the standard African language as well. The same scenario applies as was discussed above, and the results of such behaviour have already been elucidated in the discussion in Chapter 8 on the language situation in schools. A continuance of this behaviour will lead to further interference in the standard African languages.

In order to deal with these situations in education, teachers should be encouraged not to use English or non-standard varieties during African language lessons. Teachers need to be made aware of the impact which their non-standard language use has on the language acquisition of pupils. This issue links up with that of **pride** in the African languages, as well as with the issue of teacher training. These issues will be discussed in more detail below.

10.3 CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT

Curriculum development links up closely with language planning issues such as the number of languages pupils may include in their choice of subjects, and the choice of language to be used as medium of instruction. The latter issue has already been discussed above.

Although important, policy matters such as the number of language subjects a pupil may take, do not form the crux of the present research and will therefore not be discussed further.

An important point which must be made with regard to curriculum development, however, is that planning should be done in collaboration with the African Language Boards and/or the Pan South African Language Board (depending on the functions of the latter once these have been decided). It is important that norms be set for the teaching of the African languages, and many of the guidelines for teachers referred to in this report should be set in consultation between the Language Boards and the Educational authorities.

ACTAG's "Principles for language and literature education" (1995:221-224) include a proposal that "[a] combination of centralized and decentralized curriculum development, which will ensure maximum national and provincial participation, seems appropriate to a multilingual country constituted on the basis of provincial autonomy". They foresee the establishment of national curriculum councils which will develop general guidelines for a core curriculum, as well as provincial curriculum bodies which will allow for teacher, parent, and pupil participation and will be responsible for developing the core curriculum into detailed syllabuses. This implies that some principles based on the research presented here, will first have to be incorporated into the core curriculum, after which detailed strategies based on this research can be incorporated into the syllabuses.

10.4 SYLLABUS DEVELOPMENT

10.4.1 The current situation

In considering the implications of this research for language teaching, mention should perhaps first be made of the current situation regarding the teaching of the African languages. Thipa (1989:155) provides such an overview, concentrating on the situation in secondary schools (standards 8, 9, 10) and at universities which offer Xhosa as a course. Attention here is specifically focused on those schools which are predominantly attended by black pupils (i.e. multiracial schools and white schools which offer African languages are not our concern here). Furthermore, the focus is predominantly on the teaching of grammar in these settings, and not so much on the aspect of literature.

Mention can be made of the fact that the Department of Education and Training (now part of the integrated Department of National Education), has a core syllabus for the African languages for each standard. This implies that the syllabuses for all the African languages, show a large degree of similarity.

These syllabuses cover language usage and language study. The *language usage* component concerns semantic aspects of language, with special reference to:

- idiomatic expressions
- literal and figurative expression
- synonyms, antonyms and homonyms
- the emotive value of words
- one word for a description and vice versa
- etymological words, neologisms, analogical words
- adopted words and their usage

- selected figures of speech

Language study, on the other hand, covers speech sounds; selected sound changes; spelling; word division; syntactical, morphological and semantic characteristics of selected word categories. Formal structure of language seems to be emphasised at school level, with the standard language being the frame of reference. No definition of this variety is, however, given.

At university level, the African language courses are also preoccupied with the formal structure of the language. Phonology, morphology and syntax seem to receive the most emphasis. Thipa (1989:157) observes that white universities place a lot of emphasis on the study of syntax and treat it in detail.

Semantics and sociolinguistics on the other hand, receive little attention, in some cases not even being mentioned in the syllabuses of a department. In cases where aspects of sociolinguistics are mentioned, e.g. "lexical borrowing", there is no clear indication of the importance (or weighting) of this aspect of the syllabus.

Thipa (1989:160) is of the opinion that the research presented here, points to the need for a careful reassessment of the entire field of African languages in education. The objectives for the teaching of these languages, as well as the content of what has to be taught, need to be re-evaluated and clarity should be reached concerning their relevance to the situations for which they are intended. The need for clarity regarding goals and strategies for reaching these, is evident.

As mentioned above, the place of the situationally and functionally defined (i.e. non-standard) language varieties described in the present research, within language teaching, also needs to be clarified. Fishman (Thipa, 1989:161) aptly states that language teaching should some day be ready to give up its attachment to the myth of fully separate and unvarying languages. The research presented here, indicates that such a time is drawing near.

Thipa (1989:161,162) indicates, for instance, that the standard ten syllabus includes phonetics, and that candidates are expected to be able to transcribe all the words of their language phonetically. They are also expected to be able to describe all the speech sounds of their language in terms of their articulatory features. The usefulness of such phonetic exercises can certainly be questioned, and especially so in the absence of a knowledge of the functional use of language.

10.4.2 Description of the nature of the language problems in the African language subjects

In terms of education, this description can perhaps be seen as the central aim of the STANON research. The issues raised earlier in this chapter, all have a direct bearing on this aim. However, so does the detailed information on phonological, morphological, syntactical and semantic interference, provided in the body of the report. In conjunction, the information contained in this report, adequately describes the nature of the current language situation in

schools and elucidates the problems experienced by pupils, teachers and parents with the teaching and use of the standard African languages.

These descriptions must now be used by language (corpus) planners and educationists (syllabus designers) to expand the functions of the African languages, redefine the goals of their teaching, and design new syllabuses which will address the problems highlighted here.

10.4.3 Guidelines for the contents of new African language syllabuses / courses

The role of sociolinguistics in the teaching of the African languages, has already been emphasised by Thipa (see 8.9.2). Given the apparent lack of knowledge of language (and dialectal) differences among pupils (as mentioned by Malimabe under 8.1), the inclusion of a sociolinguistics component in the syllabuses of the African languages should be seriously considered.

Such a component should aim to make pupils aware of language differences, and introduce them (with progressively more detail) to concepts such as "dialect", "sociolect", "idiolect", "language contact" "language influence" "language use patterns", "functions of language", etc. This component should endeavour to contextualise the learning of a "standard" language. Issues such as the need for "norms" and a "standard" form for all languages, apply here. So does an understanding of the function of language as a vehicle for educational and economic mobility. Understanding that competence in the standardised form of a language is a prerequisite for certain jobs and positions in society, is a central issue which should form part of all language learning (cf. also PSALB, 1995:12, as well as ACTAG, 1995:12, in this regard).

Linked to the inclusion of a sociolinguistic component in the African language syllabuses, is a proposal that there be a movement away from the present approach wherein the standard language forms the **basis** of the coursework for the language subject. An approach wherein the standard becomes the **ideal** in such courses might be more appropriate given the realities of language use in the urban areas of South Africa. This also links up with the idea that competence in the standard language is a prerequisite for upward mobility (as discussed above), indicating that the standard language is also an ideal in society. An approach in which the teaching of language reflects social trends, is therefore propagated here. Such an approach would imply a move away from rote learning of grammatical phenomena, to an approach which reflects the functional use of language.

This suggestion also implies that language teaching should focus on the dynamics of language. Linked to this, is a suggestion that this teaching itself be made more dynamic. Currently, the teaching of grammar, for instance, is mainly conducted by means of rote learning or the chorus method of teaching, (due partly to the fact that teachers have to cope with large numbers of pupils in each class, Gugushe, 1978:216; and also to the fact that the theoretical bias causes the curriculum to be exam-driven, Van Zyl Slabbert *et al.*, 1994:111). Thipa (1989:162) also refers to the emphasis placed on transcribing in the teaching of phonetics. A more dynamic approach to the teaching of phonetics and phonology, might be to describe these in terms of trends such as those discussed in Chapter 4. Such trends could be taught at secondary school level in different degrees of difficulty. In this way, language

teaching can be linked to an understanding of how language functions in society, making it much more enjoyable and dynamic. The PSALB Discussion Document (1995:14), also calls for a focus on language as a functional and communicative tool, and not as merely a symbolic element in the life of human beings. In support of this, Van Zyl Slabbert *et al.* (1994:111) call for a focus on the development of critical thinking, reasoning, reflection and understanding.

Teachers also need to find more dynamic ways of presenting the subject material to pupils. Methods such as role-plays, video-learning, and so on need to be investigated for fresh and dynamic approaches to language teaching.

10.5 EDUCATION TECHNOLOGY

Changes to the syllabuses for the African languages, imply that a new approach will also be needed in educational materials such as textbooks. The provision of quality educational materials is in fact mentioned by Van Zyl Slabbert *et al.* (1994:116) as the most economical way to bring about acceptable standards of education and training in developing communities. As stated above for teaching methods, a more dynamic approach to the designing of new textbooks, is needed. Such an approach should reflect the goals set during syllabus planning. Textbooks could be made more interesting and learner-friendly by including, for instance, cartoons, pictures, crossword puzzles, and by making the layout more interesting and dynamic.

Other technological tools should also be employed in language learning, for instance, the provision of language programmes through the medium of the electronic media (radio, television and computers for interactive learning). These should not be limited to the teaching of grammar, but can be used very effectively and creatively for teaching literature (set-works), and the issues mentioned above in terms of a sociolinguistic approach to language teaching. Television programmes on linguistic and cultural differences can, for instance, be used to describe the dynamics of language use to pupils (and adults). Used as a teaching aid (i.e. in the presence of a teacher who can point out differences in speech and perhaps put these up for debate among pupils), such programmes could play a meaningful role in understanding the functional role of language.

An important issue to be raised here, is that textbooks should be written by native speakers of the language concerned. Historical practice in this regard, saw white authors writing the African language textbooks, based on a second language approach throughout the years of schooling. This accounts, *inter alia*, for the preponderance of grammatical phenomena to be learnt off-by-heart, and the emphasis placed on phonetics. Future textbook-writing must occur in consultation with the Language Boards and educational authorities and be done by standard African language speakers.

It is also vitally important that the textbooks should be as free as possible from national, racial, class or religious bias and not treat the subject-matter from the perspective of a particular sector.

10.6 TEACHER TRAINING

It was mentioned in Chapter 8, that the teacher is pivotal in dealing with the language interference issue in education. It is absolutely imperative that teachers be trained to deal with language diversity in the classroom, as this is a manifestation of the realities of language use within the community in the urban areas of our country. Teachers need to be equipped with the necessary skills to manage the use of non-standard varieties in the classroom successfully. Beckmann (1992:7) indicates that lack of support for teachers, is one of the biggest problems in multicultural education in South Africa. Inadequate development of the curriculum to deal with this diversity, and inadequate opportunities for pre- and in-service training are cited as the main contributing factors of this problem.

A support programme for teachers in multicultural secondary schools, has already been developed by the Centre for Educational Development at the University of Stellenbosch (CEDUS). This programme focuses on four main areas which research has shown pose problems during the transition phase to non-racial education in integrated schools. These are (a) inter-personal awareness and socio-cultural skills; (b) intra-personal skills; (c) cognitive development skills; and (d) language skills (Swartz, 1993:31). The multi-disciplinary programme consists of a video tape, written materials and a teacher training component, aimed at providing appropriate knowledge and skills for use in multicultural classrooms. The possibility of adapting this programme to the specific needs outlined above, should be investigated.

However, teachers also need to be made aware of the importance and role of the non-standard languages for the child. It must be kept in mind that the young child (one who has not yet been taught the difference between correct and incorrect language usage) cannot be held responsible for the use of a non-standard variety. The child is the victim of circumstances.

At present, the exceptionally negative attitudes towards the non-standard varieties in the sphere of education, is contributing to the failure rate of pupils. The intolerance of these varieties and consequent lack of leniency in evaluating the oral and written work of urban pupils, leads to them failing the mother tongue subjects. Pupils also become dissatisfied with the "system" and it may even be argued that the harsh evaluation procedures lead to a diminished interest in studying the African languages. A shift in attitude towards understanding and constructively dealing with the non-standard varieties in education, is imperative if pride in the standard African languages is to be re-instilled in pupils (and in adults).

However, apart from training, teachers also need *guidelines* on how to approach linguistic diversity in education. The emphasis here, is on a language education policy, similar to that described by Edwards (1984:569) for the British situation, which addresses these issues and ensures consistency in the treatment of dialect features. There need to be guidelines for teachers on, for instance, which adoptives are acceptable and which are not. The creation of such a language education policy is in turn dependent on proper corpus planning, an issue which received attention in Chapter 9.

10.7 THE ROLE OF THE PARENTS

Van Zyl Slabbert *et al.* (1994:112,113) indicate that a general upliftment of family life in South Africa is of crucial importance. Poor homes lack books, newspapers, and periodicals which stimulate language and reading skills as well as positive values. The most important support system for youth to remain at school is their families. Without the support of their families, in terms of mental stimulation as well as sustained nutritional care, they will drop out of the school system.

The importance of the involvement of parents in education, is also stressed by Altschul (1993:10,11), who reports that certain schools in America involve the parents of Spanish-speaking pupils in monthly meetings to discuss their children's literature and read the stories and poems written by the children. This activity is in itself unusual but is made more significant by the fact that these parents themselves have had little schooling. This programme has allowed these parents to encourage their children to write and to begin doing so themselves.

The feasibility of implementing similar strategies for enhancing parent-involvement in this country, should be investigated.

10.8 LITERACY TRAINING

Under 1.3.4 mention was made of the fact that the STANON research would also contribute in the field of literacy training. The PSALB Discussion Document (1995:18) emphasises the importance of literacy, in the following words: "It is widely acknowledged that there is a strong correlation between low levels of literacy and language competence on the one hand and high levels of unemployment and other forms of social disadvantage on the other hand". The NEPI framework report on Adult Basic Education (Van Zyl Slabbert *et al.*, 1994:104) states that approximately 15 million South Africans are in need of literacy training, and estimates that only about 100 000 are receiving such training at present.

These low literacy levels often result in the inability of parents to function as proper educators of their children. The difference in level of education received, in fact often leads to a generation gap between parents and children, as a result of which, parents often find it increasingly difficult to control their children (Van Zyl Slabbert *et al.*, 1994:113).

Although this is an entirely different field with many of its own problems, the realities of language usage in the townships must be taken into account in seeking solutions to literacy problems. For instance, the words used as the core vocabulary in literacy training programmes could be adapted or modernised based on the information provided in this report, and in many of the subreports. Many African language literacy programmes are based on a core vocabulary which has been translated from that used in English literacy programmes. The applicability of many of the words to the African language situation and especially to the urban situation is questionable. The urban language varieties may contain more appropriate words and phrases which could be included in the core vocabularies of African language literacy courses. The issue of cultural appropriateness of literacy training programmes, lies central to this debate.

10.9 LESSONS FROM OTHER COUNTRIES

Lessons in regard to the issues discussed above, may also be taken from strategies employed in countries such as Britain, the USA and Australia to cope with linguistic (and cultural) diversity in the classroom. These may shed some light on solutions to the above-mentioned problems faced in our own education system. However, the following discussion only serves to highlight the issues involved and sound a warning lest we find ourselves in similar situations a few years from now. Useful lessons to be learnt from the experiences outlined below, need to be evaluated in terms of our particular situation.

A detailed analysis and the devising of strategies to cope with our internal problems lies beyond the scope of the present report. The suggestion made here, is that a follow-up research project on linguistic diversity in education (including lessons learnt in other countries) and policy options for maximising effective learning, should be undertaken without delay.

The Australian experience

Research in Australia aimed at *Creating a supportive school environment in culturally and linguistically diverse communities* indicates that "[m]inimal English language speakers seem to be at a high risk in their junior primary years of neither becoming competent English language users nor of maintaining their first language at an adequate level of communication" (Sloniec, 1993:11). This raises again the issue of the importance of "mother tongue" maintenance and development for students from non-English backgrounds (see also 10.2.2 above). A similar situation might develop in this country (SA), should an approach based on English as medium of instruction from the first year of schooling be adopted.

The above-mentioned research (Sloniec, *op. cit.*) also found that pupils from non-English speaking backgrounds became increasingly alienated from the learning process, particularly in the senior years, if they perceived that:

- racism towards them persisted
- teachers could not empathise with them
- classroom methodology was inappropriate to their preferred learning styles and English language needs, and
- the school did not value their experiences, knowledge and skills.

Recommended strategies for change (Sloniec, 1993:12,13) included *inter alia* that:

- data gathering on students from non-English speaking backgrounds needs to occur as part of enrolment procedures
- senior secondary curriculum offerings and their modes of delivery need to be reviewed for their effectiveness with Aboriginal students and students from non-English speaking backgrounds
- classroom research into teacher methodology and expectations and learning outcomes for Aboriginal students from non-English speaking backgrounds needs to be supported

- processes for early identification of students at risk in their English language learning need to be implemented
- minimal English language speakers need to be given more structured support in junior primary schooling
- minimal English language speakers need to participate in appropriate activities in their first language as part of a planned program of introduction to the English language, and
- training and development of staff, particularly school councillors, on the schooling issues for Aboriginal students and students from non-English speaking backgrounds needs to be supported [by Principals].

The British experience

The Bullock Report of 1976 (Altschul, 1993:11) stated: "No child should be expected to cast off the language and culture of the home as he crosses the school threshold, nor to live and act as though school and home represent two totally separate and different cultures which have to be kept apart." A similar statement is called for in the South African context, if the rights of the child are to be protected.

School practice in Britain has proved that once children can identify themselves in the books or relate these to incidents which have happened in their own families, they immediately display interest and then *want* to take books out to take home to read to their families (Altschul, 1993:11).

Stories from ethnic origins produced in English and the mother tongue, also encourage children from all cultures to share their ideas and stories, and to feel that their own language is valuable and recognised. When multilingualism is seen as a resource and not a threat, children can be encouraged to feel proud of their ability to speak more than one language. In this way, the link between the home and the school can also be forged.

The promotion of the mother tongue is seen to complement rather than hinder the learning of English as a second language. Altschul (1993:12) again quotes the Bullock Report as saying that "[c]onfidence and ability in this language (i.e. mother tongue) will help children to the same qualities in their spoken English". This child-centred approach can help to break down a commonly held belief that having a different mother tongue in itself constitutes a learning difficulty.

Lessons with regard to the use of non-standard varieties in the classroom may also be learnt from the British situation, where increasing use is being made of Creole in the classroom. Although this approach has met with a good deal of resistance, the rationale behind it is that Creole should be used to supplement - but not replace - standard English (Edwards, 1984:570,571). Linked to this approach, is a call for initial and in-service training for teachers on non-standard language varieties such as the West Indian language, as well as the need for serious evaluation of the special language needs of non-English speaking children.

Other recommendations from research on the non-standard varieties of English in Britain, include the importance of using a coherent marking technique for correcting pupils' written work, changes in the books used as reading primers in infant schools, teacher awareness of the

systematic differences between standard English and non-standard varieties, conscious attempts not to alienate the child from a language with which he/she has grown up, and sensitive handling of non-standard forms in classroom so as not to add to the "cognitive confusion" in which all children start the task of learning to read (Cheshire, 1984:546-556).

Many of the lessons outlined here, capture situations in which two or more languages are used in a single classroom, usually (standard) English and a native language such as Spanish, or an Aboriginal language. The situation in the African languages is far more complex, however, as it involves not only (standard) English and (standard) African languages (i.e. more than one native language), but also various non-standard African language varieties (which differ from region to region). The economic constraints placed on the speakers of these languages and on the provision of equal education in this country, further exacerbate the situation. Lessons from abroad can therefore only provide guidelines for improvement.

10.10 THE STANON PROGRAMME'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE RDP IN TERMS OF THE WHITE PAPER ON EDUCATION

In Chapter 1, an indication was given, that the research done in the STANON programme could make a contribution to the RDP and the White Paper on Education, in two fundamental areas, namely **Appropriate education and training** and **Basic human rights**. The following discussion highlights this contribution. Although mention will necessarily be made of aspects which have already been discussed in the earlier sections of this Chapter, an attempt will be made to keep repetition to the minimum.

10.10.1 Appropriate education and training

- The White Paper on Education (1994:12) emphasises improvement of the quality of education. This implies improvement of (a) *access*, as well as (b) of *the appropriateness of the curriculum*.

  Research within the STANON programme has shown that *access* to education is often inhibited through (i) a language barrier, and (ii) difficulties in enrolling a child in a school which offers the mother tongue spoken by such a child in the home (see discussion under 8.3).

  Appropriateness of the curriculum (especially in urban areas) is a further inhibiting factor in promoting access to education and enhancing the relevance and quality of the education received. The information provided in the body of the report on the nature of the language situation in urban areas and especially the discussion on medium of instruction above (10.2) will hopefully contribute to a re-evaluation and re-interpretation of the African language syllabuses. The new syllabuses must be made more relevant to the needs of urban children as described above, thereby improving their access to the school system. If the information provided on the medium of education and the suggestions for improvements to the current syllabuses are taken into account in redesigning the new syllabuses for the African languages, it will also lead to an improvement in the quality of the education

provided to our children. The use of "modern" words and phrases (i.e. terms with which urban residents can identify), will also assist in improving the quality of literacy programmes in the African languages.

- An understanding of the language situation in urban areas (such as is contained in Chapter 3), and especially in urban homes, will also enable the development of strategies for dealing with the effects of *the under-development of language skills*, which has been identified as an area of concern in the White Paper (1994:19). As mentioned under 10.2 (MOI), strategies need to be devised for coping with the fact that the mother tongue is no longer a standard language. Second language teaching methods in the early years of schooling, was one such strategy suggested.

- Research within the STANON programme has also shown that communication in the workplace is often inhibited due to language differences and increased negativity towards Fanakalo. In order to enable the peoples of South Africa to participate effectively in the economic spheres of life, strategies for optimising communication in the workplace will have to be developed. The research presented here, has affirmed the negative attitudes towards Fanakalo and the preference (especially amongst the youth) for English. Problems with communication in the workplace, are currently being dealt with in various ways. Workers are opting for the use of English in as much as they have a command over the language. In the case of the youth, English plays a significant role in this respect. In the case of older people, however, Afrikaans is sometimes chosen over English (as this is the language with which they grew up), or codeswitching between English/Afrikaans and an African language takes place. This language choice is, however, limited to black-white interaction. Among themselves, black workers tend to prefer the use of a non-standard variety such as a BUV (Calteaux, 1994:187). Level of education also plays a significant role, as was indicated under 3.4.3.

  The importance of language as a vehicle of upward mobility (social and economic) and a means of access to the world of work, was also discussed above (see 10.4.3). An understanding of the functions of language in society was therefore advocated.

- A further contribution of the research findings of the STANON programme, is in the area of advertising. The information contained in the subreports may assist the marketing fraternity in devising effective marketing strategies, especially from the perspective of appropriate employment of language. Such marketing strategies need not only be confined to the commercial sector. Information presented here on the nature, functions and status of the non-standard language varieties can also be useful in, for example, optimising communication in the fields of AIDS education and the "Erase Violence" campaign.

  Currently the dissemination of information in campaigns such as these, takes place through the medium of the standard African languages. The importance of the information presented in Chapters 3 and 7 and in the subreports of Calteaux, Zungu, and Khumalo, is evident when it is understood that not everyone in the townships understands a standard African language. The fact that children are growing up with a non-standard variety as home language further exacerbates the situation. In order to effectively communicate the message of these campaigns, use has to be made of communication media understood by the target population. Given this, the information presented here on the language use

patterns in the townships is very valuable to advertisers and various types of campaigns (mention has been made of the fact that some political campaigns use Tsotsitaal or Iscamtho to effect solidarity).

The use of the African languages in the sphere of advertising, is in keeping with their new role as official languages of the country. This expansion of function, will certain benefit the development of these languages, although the creation of new terminology to adapt to the needs of this industry might be seen in a negative light by some. However, even this information (sensitising to negativity towards the indiscriminate use of language in advertising), is of value to this industry. The coining of new terminology must conform to the rules of the language, and the information given in the body of this report will assist the advertising industry in achieving this.

- Other areas of concern in which the findings of the STANON programme will prove useful, are Adult Basic Education and Lifelong Learning. Choice of suitable materials for ABE would, for instance, have to take the vernacular of the candidate into account. Differences between the standard language and the vernacular (mother tongue) have already been elucidated and the value of this research for literacy training has also been discussed (see 10.8).

10.10.2 Basic human rights

The new Constitution recognises language as a basic human right. According to section 31 "[e]very person shall have the right to use the language of his or her choice". Section 32 of the Constitution, also makes it clear that each person has the right "to instruction in the language of his or her choice where this is reasonably practicable". These clauses form the basis for future language and education planning in our country.

- One of the basic rights of the person expounded in the White Paper on Education (1994:24), is the right to freedom of speech and expression. This has implications for curricula, textbooks, teaching methods, teacher education, etc.

  The implications of the STANON research in these areas, has already been illustrated above. Indications have also been given of ways to improve the appropriateness of the syllabuses for the African languages. This can *inter alia* be done by adapting the concept of "mother tongue" instruction to address the realities of language use in the urban areas. The information provided on the format of language change and adaptation to the modern environment also contributes to an understanding of the current speech patterns of many urban blacks.

  As regards teacher training, suggestions for improvement have already been made under 8.9; 10.6. The most important issue here, is equipping teachers to deal with linguistic (and cultural) diversity in the classroom in a productive and positive manner.

- A further aspect of the right to freedom of expression, is the right to one's own language and culture. The White Paper (1994:24) states that each person shall have the right to instruction in the language of his/her choice (where practicable). Furthermore, every person

has the right to use the language and participate in the culture of his/her choice (White Paper, 1994:24). Linked to this is the tenet that diversity of language and culture is protected and should be promoted. The right to language and culture are the principles held to underpin a policy on language in education. Such a policy implies multilingualism, equal respect for all official languages and promotion of all official languages. The contribution of the STANON programme to these issues lies in the information which it provides on the status, functions, nature and domains of use, of the African language varieties identified in the subreports. Differences between urban culture and rural (traditional) culture have also been highlighted, and for the first time, insight into the language situation and language use patterns in black urban communities, has been gained. This information and insight is of importance to the development of the African languages as well as the development of a culture of respect for language differences.

For instance, an understanding that modern language use patterns are not haphazard or indiscriminate mixtures of elements from various different languages, but are in fact rule-governed and regular (i.e. predictable) switching between elements from more than one language, will hopefully assist in changing attitudes towards the non-standard varieties. Such a change in attitude will also be effected through a better understanding of the users and functions of these varieties, as presented in Chapter 3.

The efforts made by the speakers to adapt adoptives so that they fit in with the structure of the African languages, also indicate a respect for the African languages by their users. These efforts gain the respect of outsiders when it is realised that the users of these languages are coping with the changes in their environment (often in very innovative ways if we think of the codes and registers used in the Durban area - Zungu 1995) in a regulated, productive and linguistically acceptable manner. Even without language engineering by language planning bodies such as the Language Boards, the speakers of these languages are keeping them alive, vibrant and dynamic.

The basic right to freedom of expression, implies that the non-standard varieties have to be acknowledged, for as pointed out repeatedly, they are the home languages of many urban residents. In their role as the languages used between family members, they have become the carriers of culture and many people are more competent in a non-standard variety than in a standard language.

Although the choice will undoubtedly remain (and should do so) with the standard forms of the African languages as being the ideal in the sphere of education, people have a right to use non-standard varieties as a means of expressing themselves, and this right must be respected.

10.11 CONCLUSIONS

A fundamental principle of the new language dispensation of South Africa, is that language is seen as a resource and not as a problem. Acceptance of the functional, communicative value of language in the life of the individual as well as of the nation, leads to the view that multilingualism is not a problem and that the sociolinguistic functionality of language can be regarded as a resource for the speakers of that language (PSALB, 1995:15). Recognition of

the existence and functional role of the non-standard African language varieties, as set out above, can vastly enhance the linguistic resources in this country, and assist in nation-building. The PSALB Discussion Document (1995:17) sees the role of PSALB in this nation-building, as that of responding to the linguistic and cultural diversity of our country in a constructive manner. ACTAG (1995:221) emphasise that language and literature can play important roles in cross-cultural communication and can facilitate exchange and tolerance between different communities. "Freedom, equality and justice in all spheres of life, including language, is the basis for reconciliation, social stability and peace." (ACTAG, 1995:220)

Current thinking in the field of academic development stresses the need to accommodate the different life experiences of the learners and represents a shift in emphasis from the student to the curriculum as a whole, with its main aim being the development of an *appropriate* teaching and learning environment (Oliver-Shaw, 1994:43).

The power of the research presented here lies in the fact that it raises awareness of the issues which need to be dealt with regarding language education policy in schools where the African languages are taught as the first languages of the pupils. What this research hopes to achieve is a change in identified school and classroom practices, so that a learning environment may be created which will enable **quality** education for **all** South Africans. In such an environment, language diversity is acknowledged and the language needs of particular children are addressed. In so doing, a community is developed which will be able to partake in all sectors of South African life: social, economic and political.

CHAPTER 11: CONCLUDING REMARKS

The present chapter concludes this report and aims to summarise and highlight the salient points made in earlier chapters. Contributions of this research and salient recommendations are also presented.

LANGUAGE USE PATTERNS IN THE BLACK URBAN COMMUNITIES OF SOUTH AFRICA

Multilingualism in South African urban areas

- The metropolitan areas of South Africa are characterised by the occurrence of many different languages whose speakers come into contact with each other on a daily basis. Contact between speakers of different languages creates the need for a medium of communication and leads to the development of varieties such as Black Urban Vernaculars (e.g. Pretoria Sotho and Tembisa Mixed language) and Colloquialised Argots (e.g. Tsotsitaal and Iscamtho). These varieties are spoken informally and are characterised by the use of linguistic elements from various languages employed in order to enhance effective communication (in the case of the BUVs) or for the purposes of exclusivity (in the case of the Colloquialised Argots). Such varieties are referred to as "non-standard" as opposed to the "standard" African languages which are standardised and codified forms of language used in predominantly formal domains and in writing.

- Urbanisation and migration are the main factors leading to the development of multilingualism in the metropolitan areas. Migration often spreads the use of urban varieties of language to rural areas as well.

- Black urban speech communities are characterised by a high level of tolerance for each other's language and a commitment to finding a common medium of communication. Nevertheless, a particular language often dominates in a particular township.

- Within these communities, each language variety has its own functions and domains of use, although some varieties are encroaching on the domains traditionally preserved for specific language varieties.

- English and Afrikaans are used in the townships, with English being seen as the language of prestige and something to be aspired to. Afrikaans on the other hand, has negative connotations in some townships which do not bode well for its continued use.

- The standard languages have traditionally enjoyed the highest prestige of all varieties in the townships. They are regarded by the older generations as the carriers of their traditions and culture, but the younger generations seem to be opting for the use of English in formal domains instead.

- The question of standard and non-standard forms is problematic. The main problem lies in an accurate characterisation of these forms. Standard and non-standard forms, it seems, cannot be defined with any precision. Flexibility is, above all, what is needed in any attempt at delineating these forms. Despite this problem of definition, rural language varieties seem to be nearer the standard form in the majority of cases.

- The Black Urban Vernacular (BUV) is a colloquial language which is used in most settings in the township to facilitate communication between speakers of different mother tongues.

- The BUVs are characterised by codeswitching and are thus not haphazard mixing of linguistic elements from various languages. Adoption also plays a significant role in these varieties.

- The BUV differs from township to township and even within a township depending on the domain of use (i.e. setting, topic and interlocutors).

- Different interpretations of the relationship between Tsotsitaal and Iscamtho prevail. The research presented here, indicates that they are similar in nature, but not the same. It cannot be claimed that Iscamtho developed out of Tsotsitaal, as there are clear historical and linguistic differences between the two varieties.

- Linguistically, Tsotsitaal and Iscamtho are characterised by the use of codeswitching (Tsotsitaal with non-standard Afrikaans as matrix language and Iscamtho with an African language as ML). These varieties feature many lexical items which are unknown to "outsiders", although such terms eventually become commonly used slang while new secret terms are created by the speakers.

- Certain lexical items have diverse meanings even though they share similar shapes, whereas others have different shapes but refer to one and the same entity. It was also revealed that poor communication between the in-group and out-group members is purposeful. The aim is to keep the conversation as cryptic as possible for the out-group members. Once a term is extensively known, it ceases to be a cant word and contributes to the spread of slang which may ultimately become standard educated speech.

- Different varieties of Tsotsitaal and Iscamtho can be distinguished, *inter alia* a slang and a common subvariety, as well as regional differentiations.

- These varieties are mainly used by the men and by criminal gangs, either when socialising together or whilst engaged in criminal activities.

- Due to their links with criminality, these varieties are seen in a negative light, although they enjoy covert prestige among their speakers.

- Other non-standard varieties occurring in the townships are slang and cant.

- In order to describe the language situation in a typical black urban speech community (township), sociolinguistic profiles of the varieties which occur in such a township were presented. These can be used for comparison of the varieties occurring in other townships.

- The non-standard varieties are expanding the domains in which they are acceptable. Although not entirely acceptable as *lingua francas* at present, non-standard varieties such as Iscamtho and Tsotsitaal are being used in homes and in schools and are thus infiltrating the domains traditionally preserved for the standard languages. Although the future role of these varieties is as yet uncertain, they have to be taken into account by language planners and policy-makers. The insistence on Zulu as a language, as defined and structured by the Language Board has, for instance, created many problems for the speakers of Iscamtho in Soweto.

- Children are also facing real problems in school and in the home due to the impact which the non-standard varieties are having on the use of the standard language. The BUV has virtually taken over the place of the standard language in the home.

The future of the African languages

- There is a concern for the future of the African languages, in the sense that many black people in South Africa are opting for English as medium of instruction and are discouraging their children from using African languages, even at home. Black parents, mainly from the metropolitan areas, are sending their children to multi-racial schools where the medium of instruction is English or Afrikaans. In those schools, parents are advised to encourage their children to speak English in the home - the use of African languages is discouraged. Currently, however, it is only a small percentage of parents who engage in this practice. Multiracial schools are expensive, excluding the majority of black people from access to these institutions. The fact that English, Afrikaans and the African languages are used in different domains, with English and Afrikaans being used in more formal domains, also indicates that the African languages are not in immediate danger of dying out.

CHANGES IN THE AFRICAN LANGUAGES DUE TO LANGUAGE CONTACT

Contact with European languages

- Contact between the African languages and European languages such as English, Afrikaans, came about as a result of geographical proximity and urbanisation. Although these languages have influenced the African languages in various ways, the main influence is on the lexicon in terms of adoptives. The main concern here was to look at the adaptation of foreign forms in the African languages and their impact on these languages.

- The most obvious of these changes are *lexico-semantic changes*: the changes that take place when a word that is initially foreign to the language becomes part of that language. These changes are normally four-fold:

* *purely lexical*: i.e. a foreign word becomes a native word, part of the lexicon of the adopting language, to the extent that it is printed in a published lexicon of the language;

* *semantic*: although not always obvious, such changes occur frequently and have been illustrated in Chapter 7;

* *phonological*: two types can be distinguished: the changes in the phonology of the source item as it is approximated to the phonological system of the adopting language, and changes in the adopting language's phonological system under impact of the foreign phonology. The first type are exemplified in dictionaries as these indicate the adoptive with its source. The second type can be found in adoptives with /r/ and with consonant clusters. Modern phonological trends (assimilation of /r/, vowel epenthesis and separation of consonant clusters) were also indicated.

* *morphological*: words from other languages that do not have noun class prefixes, acquire these, together with a new set of singular and plural markers which at times conflict with source markers.

- Rural (standard) language varieties, on the other hand, show the following characteristics:

  * minimal lexical borrowing,
  * no codeswitching,
  * phonological re-analysis of some sounds, and
  * only isolated use of slang.

- The statistics of the relative weight of English and Afrikaans provide a picture of language dynamics in a developing nation. A comparison of the influences of English and Afrikaans points to a number of socio-historical factors such as the earlier impact of Afrikaans (in the form of 'plat' or 'low' Dutch) shown in the greater proportion of Dutch/Afrikaans in Xhosa and Southern Sotho, as well as in earlier dictionaries of Zulu, as well as in certain socio-cultural areas, such as ox-wagon transport and farming. The predominance of English adoptives in such areas as finance, courts and administration is to be expected given the historical circumstances of this country.

Contact with other African languages

- This was mainly researched for Tsonga. There are only a few phonetic differences between the different Tsonga dialects. Even so, they present a number of problems when spelling and orthography are considered. The reasons identified for non-standard spelling and incorrect orthography are (a) dialectalism, (b) the fact that the Tsonga Language Board does not disseminate its rulings adequately, and (c) inconsistency of the Tsonga Language Board in its rulings.

- There are many more phonological similarities between the Tsonga dialects than there are differences. The differences which do exist such as palatalisation in some dialects but not in others, cause problems for pupils at school and in examinations. There is no uniform

approach towards the solving of this problem, and rulings made by the Language Board in this regard are also not known to the general public.

- A greater margin of differences were found in the vocabulary of the Tsonga dialects. This is mainly due to the influence of languages that are contiguous to Tsonga. It was established that the languages which have donated lexical items to Tsonga, are Zulu, Swazi, Venda, Northern Sotho, and Pretoria Sotho. The influences of these languages were found in varying degrees among the different dialects, depending on the foreign language community with which it had been in contact.

Phonological changes

- The adaptation of foreign words also occurs on the phonological level. Most adoptives are adapted into the sound system of the language. Processes such as substitution of sounds which do not occur in the sound inventory of the adopting language, as well as substitution of sounds which do exist effect this adaptation, due to the native segment constraint. In most cases the choice of the substituting sound seems to be determined by phonetic approximation.

- There is a preponderance of new sound sequences or combinations in urban language varieties. Rural language varieties, on the other hand, feature a re-analysis of certain sounds, for example borrowed [r] > [l] and [ɵ] > [th] while [ʒ] > [ʃ].

- Phonological changes also occur to the syllable structure of adopted words. Words with syllable structures unacceptable to the adopting language, undergo modification. Words with consonant clusters are adjusted by means of the insertion of an epenthetic vowel in the cluster. The choice of epenthetic vowel is determined by both phonological and morphological factors, i.e. assimilation plays a significant role, and so too does tense and aspect. Adjustment also occurs to words which end in a consonant - a vowel is either added or the final consonant deleted.

- Adopted words from non-tonal languages such as Afrikaans and English are assigned tone when incorporated into an African language. It appears that the tone pattern follows the stress pattern of the word in its source language, for example stressed syllables are realised as high tones in Venda.

- An assessment of the impact of adoptives on the Venda phonological system, indicates that although the language is coping well in adapting foreign words to its sound system, it has also been influenced to some extent in that new sounds and sound sequences have been introduced into the language.

Morphological changes

- On the morphological level, adoptive nouns from non-Bantu languages acquire class prefixes which are determined by various factors. The class prefix is allocated on the basis of the initial syllable resemblance to an existing class prefix, the semantic content of the

adoptive and on the basis of a zero prefix in some cases. The morphological modification to adopted words in other parts of speech, namely adjectives, verbs, adverbs, and conjunctives was also discussed.

- The adopting language does not see the source language word in terms of morphological structure but only as a lexical item. Differences between the morphological structure of the African languages and the European languages result in two types of morphological change:

  * certain morphological structures in the source language, such as plural suffixes do not occur in the African languages and if they are incorporated into the language as an adoptive, they become integrated into the stem as in words such as **isokisi** < *sock<u>s</u>* and **isitezi** < *stair<u>s</u>* and *stay<u>s</u>*;

  * certain morphological structures which occur in the adopting (Bantu) language but not in the source language, are nevertheless perceived as being present in the source items and adjusted accordingly, e.g.

    (i) the /s/ of initial s-clusters in English and Afrikaans noun stems, which become part of a noun-class 7 prefix: Z. **isi-**,
    (ii) apparent class 6 plural prefixes in words like *m<u>o</u>nkey-nut* and *m<u>a</u>kou*, which are then deleted in the resulting singular forms, Z. **i-nkinathi** and **i-kewu**, and
    (iii) apparent locative suffixes in source words which end in nasals, like *kitche<u>n</u>* and *statio<u>n</u>*, which are then deleted in the resultant adoptives, Z. **ikhishi** and **isiteshi**.

  From these and many more examples, we conclude that the adopting language does not seem to see the source language word in terms of morphological structure, but only as a lexical item.

Syntactic changes

- On the syntactical level, adopted nouns, like native nouns, generate agreement concords. Verbs on the other hand, may affix different verbal extensions to express different meanings. Adopted verbs may occur in transitive and intransitive constructions.

- Urban language varieties are further characterised by:

  * the use of calques,
  * the use of slang, and
  * extensive use of codeswitching.

- An assessment of the effects of adoptives on the grammatical system of an African language such as Venda, indicates that the semantic significances of certain classes have been affected by the incorporation of foreign words into the language. The singular-plural pairings of some classes have also been affected. The addition of new nouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs and conjunctives, has enriched the grammatical system of the language.

Semantic changes

- It is in the lexicon that some considerable differences exist between rural and urban varieties of language. Urban language varieties are characterised by:

  * lexical borrowing or the use of adoptives,
  * semantic changes, and
  * coinages and neologisms.

- On the semantic level, lexical items have been adopted into the African languages in various ways. Certain words have been taken over without any change of meaning, while in others a change in meaning has occurred. In the latter instance, the meanings of adoptives have either been extended or narrowed. Meaning extension can occur through the addition of figurative meaning (as in the case of Venda). In some instances, the meanings of lexical items have shifted completely during adoption so that they now take on entirely different meanings to their original ones. Other semantic changes occur in the emotive value of the adopted word. Some adoptives acquire a pejorative connotation whereas others acquire an ameliorative one. Native words are not excluded from semantic change to adapt to new situations.

- The adoption of foreign words into a language such as Venda, has affected its semantic system in various ways. It has enlarged the language's lexicon, by adding many new words, in the process also increasing the number of synonyms. Some adopted words are used to replace taboo words as they are seen to be more acceptable. Adoptives may also have negative effects on the semantic system of the language. For instance, adoption may result in many homonyms which often cause confusion. It may also lead to the loss of native words from a language.

- In certain instances, lexical borrowings have become an integral part of the Xhosa lexicon.

- Semantic categories help to determine the relative importance of various socio-cultural factors in language change. The relationship between culture contact and language change has repeatedly been mentioned in the report. When a culture such as that of the Zulu people is faced with peoples of other cultures, bringing with them new animals and plants like cats and avocados, new implements and tools like nails and needles, and new ideas like Christianity and magistrate's courts, then the language must find terms to refer to these innovations, and these terms are almost always taken from the language of the newcomers. The number of adoptives in the African languages is clear proof of this.

  However, the relative importance of the innovations is not always clear. Was it God or Mammon who had the greater impact on the Zulu lexicon? The Zulus already had oxen, but the Whites brought ox-wagons and horses for the outriders which accompanied them. Did these have any significant impact on the vocabulary of the Zulu nation? How many areas of colonial benevolence, e.g. British justice and colonial administration, British education, and other benefits such as health-care and hospitals, can be traced in the adoptive lexicon in Zulu?

Answers to these questions can be found in the comparison of the semantic categories in Chapter 7, where we find many surprises, such as that mining and industry has contributed little to the vocabulary of Zulu, and that the ox-wagon figures more largely in the Zulu adoptive lexicon than does the church.

Problems caused by lexical differences between dialects

- Emanating from lexical differences between the dialects of Tsonga, two problems were highlighted. The first is communication breakdown, as when a speaker of one dialect uses a lexical item not known to a speaker of another dialect. Communication breakdown also occurs in examination situations and disadvantages candidates of certain dialects. The second problem is the attitude of informants to the use of lexical items from dialects other than their own.

Functions of adoptives

- Adoptives often serve the function of filling gaps in the vocabulary of the African languages in that they express concepts or ideas which are very largely alien to these cultures.

- Reasons for the use of adoptives as well as calques, slang, semantic shift and neologisms are the following:

  * prestige,
  * the display of erudition,
  * the filling of gaps in the vocabulary of the particular language,
  * the fact that adoptives and codeswitching, in particular, come easily to mind, and
  * an overall exposure to foreign cultural influences.

The role of dictionaries

- Dictionaries, despite their limited nature, can produce a comprehensive picture of language change. A dictionary is primarily a lexicon: a list (in alphabetical order) of the words occurring in a particular language, with their meanings (either in the same language or in another). In this sense, a dictionary gives a limited picture of a language. A dictionary is further limited in that it represents the lexicon of a language at a particular period, and such representation is the decision of a lexicographer or group of lexicographers. Yet, despite these limitations, a dictionary can give some indications of the processes of changes which take place in a language.

Similàrities in adoptive processes

- Comparisons with other African languages indicate a similarity of adoptive processes showing that each African language is far from being unique in its historico-linguistic position in Southern Africa.

  * *Phonetic patterns*: phoneticisation in other languages may give clues for the derivation of certain adoptives (e.g. Z. **isibhedlela**, NSo. **sepêtlêlê** < Eng. *hospital*). On the other hand, even languages fairly close to each other (geographically speaking) may show markedly different adoptive forms of the same source item (e.g. NSo. **rabôlôrô** and Z. **ivolovolo** < Eng. *revolver*). This reminds us that the adoptive process always works within the phonological processes of the adopting language.

  * *Morphological patterns*: the pattern of the movement of initial /s/ in source words like *store* and *school* to the Zulu class 7 prefix **isi-**, is echoed in other Bantu languages where the class 7 prefix has a similar form; on the other hand in languages like Swahili which have a class 7 prefix **ki-**, this becomes the home of initial /k/ in words like *clock* and *club*. Other morphological processes during adoptive processes which can be found in other Bantu languages, include deletion of the locative suffix and differences between singular and plural inflections. Again this reminds us that the adoptive process always works within the grammatical processes of the adopting language.

  * *Related semantic areas*: most of the countries in Africa have experienced colonialisation by one or more of the European powers. Although the languages are different in each case, the concepts and objects brought by these colonists were almost always the same.

  * *Multilingual societies*: The African languages are not members of the *only* multilingual society in Africa, and a comparison of adoptives in these languages with adoptives from other languages reminds us that the language contact position in South Africa is mirrored in many other African countries. For example, the Zulu-English-Afrikaans trio is in many ways similar to the Swahili-English-Arabic trio of some East African countries. Examples from other countries also serve as a reminder that languages form part of an etymological chain.

LANGUAGE PLANNING

- There is a broad spectrum of linguistic variation in each of the African languages. Speakers have alternatives at their disposal and make their choice from the available alternatives. It is such alternatives which make language planning possible. It is also against the background of such alternatives that language planning has to take place. The content and method of language teaching also has to reckon with these alternatives.

- Two questions need to be addressed with regard to language planning in the African languages. These are **who** does the planning, and **how**? As with standardisation, so with language planning - decisions that are taken, have to be based on empirical research. That means, *inter alia*, that language planners must be qualified to do their work. Language

planning in education, must for instance involve education specialists, including specialists in child and educational psychology.

- The media play a significant role in the language activities of the community in terms of measuring changes in language use patterns and in acting as role models for correct language use. Nevertheless, the media often contribute to the development of non-standard language varieties by means of colloquial expressions and slang.

- Recognition by the media of variation in language, will ensure wider access to broadcasting for South Africans.

- The African Language Boards have a big responsibility to ensure that these languages are developed to the extent that they can cope with advances in their environment. Serious consideration needs to be given to the composition of these Boards, and various recommendations for improvement in this regard were made.

- It is vital that the decisions of policy-makers be communicated effectively to their stakeholders.

- The new Pan South African Language Board is an important step forward in the development of all the languages of South Africa.

LANGUAGE IN EDUCATION

- The present curricula are based on codified (standard) forms of the African languages, which are known to be abstractions and idealisations, and not on the living languages as spoken by the people.

- It is regrettable that the non-standard varieties investigated are never taught in schools or discussed in grammar books because they are not standard. This has led to poor performance in the language subjects because pupils are discouraged from learning the spoken language and forced to assimilate a language which only lives in textbooks.

- The high failure rate of matric pupils cannot only be accounted for by socio-economic and political reasons, but also by the fact that one of the stipulations for passing matric is that the candidate must pass the African language first. If the candidate passes all other subjects but fails the African language, the candidate automatically fails the entire academic year. Can Soweto students, for instance, be expected to pass an African language which they do not speak or speak a different variety of?

- The types of mistakes made by pupils in their written and oral work, due to the above-mentioned situation, were illustrated in Chapter 8.

- Problems relating to access and caused by the use of non-standard language varieties in schools, were also highlighted.

- The teacher is pivotal in dealing with the manifestations of language use patterns in the community and in the home, within the classroom. Teachers also have to deal with pupils from linguistically diverse backgrounds in the same vernacular (i.e. standard language) classroom.

- Careful consideration needs to be given to the handling of the non-standard varieties in drawing up the syllabuses for the African languages and in laying down the rules and content of what has to be examined. With such a plethora of varieties, it is idealistic, if not unwise, for a speech community to identify itself through a standard language - the definition of which is in itself not only vague but imprecise.

- Attitudes towards the use of non-standard varieties in the classroom will have to be investigated, but the research presented here indicates that these are mainly negative.

- A balance needs to be struck between the instrumental and sociolinguistic approaches to language teaching. The instrumental approach sees language as a tool and regards communication as being easier if it is standardised. This approach aims at improving the aesthetic and functional characteristics of a language as a tool or instrument. It also regards some languages as being better than others. The sociolinguistic approach, on the other hand, regards languages as a resource which can be employed to improve social life. Language planning in the African languages has tended to adhere to rather tenaciously to the instrumentalist approach.

- The English Second Language (ESL) Forum, a Gauteng initiative to provide a forum for discussion among ESL practitioners, have made various practical suggestions to the question of the implications of multilingual and multicultural classrooms for teachers of English. The following of their suggestions apply equally to the African language situation described in this report, and summarise and add to many of the points made in Chapter 10:

  * teachers need to recognise and use the linguistic ability of students with many languages,

  * language awareness activities can take the form of comparisons between features of different languages,

  * we must contest examination and syllabus constraints,

  * we should promote the development of a reading culture in the school, encouraging children to borrow a book every day from the school library,

  * the school should actively encourage teachers across the curriculum to discuss the language requirements of each subject and teachers' responsibilities with regard to the language used in class,

  * means of addressing learners' classroom needs regarding language comprehension in different subject areas, need to be developed,

* opportunities must be organised within the timetable for teachers (across subject boundaries) to meet and share ideas about multilingual practices,

* the professionalisation of teachers must be encouraged. It must be made easier for them to attend workshops and courses,

* schools should be allowed more flexibility in the implementation of medium of instruction policies. For example, the use of translation and of discussion in various languages should be encouraged,

* we need a policy of understanding language as a living, changing phenomenon, rather than as fixed in concrete,

* the state should employ teachers who are native speakers for each linguistic group represented in the school - as role models, and as a source of help in times of stress,

* INSET (whether school-based or external) should be accredited, for salary and promotion purposes,

* the system should encourage schools and teachers to submit items for examinations,

* there should be opportunities for teachers to vet draft examinations,

* more varied ways of assessing learners should be introduced. At present there is too much emphasis on the final examination. Continuous assessment should be an option, as well as oral examinations in various forms, such as role play, debates, speeches, or group discussion,

* a more communicative approach should be adopted in testing languages. Students should not be required to study "disembodied" grammar,

* syllabus content must be evaluated in relation to children's needs, in terms of the pressures they face,

* education departments should involve teachers in curriculum development, and

* there should be teacher involvement in textbook policy, and in the choice of prescribed texts.

CONTRIBUTION OF THIS RESEARCH

- The macro-level sociolinguistic description of the language situation in black urban speech communities, serves as an orientation for in-depth studies of the varieties which have been identified.

- The sociolinguistic and scientific nature of the research, makes it useful to various disciplines (*inter alia* linguistics, sociolinguistics, anthropology, onomastics).

- By describing a language situation which has not been described before in the South African context, the research has provided data which has hitherto been unavailable.

- The data provided on the language situation in metropolitan areas in terms of the influence of language varieties on one another, not only provides insight into the language situation and phenomena such as inter-ethnic marriages and inter-ethnic mixing, but is also of importance to applied linguists such as language planners.

- The insight gained through this research into the language problems faced by children in urban areas, is important to educationists. This research may pave the way for practical solutions to these problems to be found.

- The research is important to the development of an equitable language education policy especially as regards the revision of the curriculum and a re-evaluation of mother tongue as medium of instruction.

- An attempt was made at setting a trend for the use of certain terms to refer to certain phenomena, for instance the use of the terms "Black Urban Vernacular" and "Colloquialised Argots" to refer to the colloquial *lingua franca* varieties, and Tsotsitaal and Iscamtho respectively.

- Detailed analyses of the linguistic adaptation of the African languages to changes in their environment were presented. These can be used for comparison in each language as well as for teaching purposes.

- A thorough understanding of the linguistic situation in black urban areas is vital before policy-makers and language planners can make decisions about recognised language varieties in South Africa. It has, for instance, been implied for a long time that the use of mixed language varieties in South Africa is posing a serious threat to the indigenous languages. Language planners need accurate and scientifically researched information on which to base planning decisions to address this situation.

- This study also provides a good background for corpus planning, by shedding light on the effectiveness of adoption as a method of language development. The fact that there are many variations in the modification of adoptives shows the need for further research on standardisation principles.

- In terms of language planning, this research further:

  * emphasises the need for modernisation of the African languages and provides information on which to base decisions re modernisation, by indicating the ways in which speakers are ensuring that their languages are keeping up with changes in their environment (e.g. technological advances),
  * provides information on which to base decisions regarding the appropriateness of varieties to specific domains (*inter alia* through information on the functions of the language varieties),

* provides insight into the language use patterns in urban areas and the implications thereof for language policies and planning, and
* sensitises language planners to the issues at hand and the implications for language policies.

- Although the main body of the research presented here focused on corpus planning issues, this research also contributes to status planning for the African languages in a significant manner. Currently, a serious concern with regard to the African languages, is the speakers' negative perception towards and lack of pride in the standard African languages. This is partly due to the legacy of domination of the former official languages, and partly to a perception that the African languages are irrelevant to the education process (cf. PSALB, 1995:11). The historical treatment of the African languages as separate and essentially inferior instruments has resulted in widespread misperception that these languages are not capable of the same kind of elaboration and development as the European languages. The research presented in this report clearly repudiates these allegations. It is hoped that it will contribute to a renewed experience of these languages as vibrant, dynamic and modern modes of communication.

- The research reported on here has described a language situation which has not been described to date. Similar situations are found in other countries, such as the USA and Britain, in terms of non-standard varieties of English (e.g. Black Vernacular English (BVE) in the USA). Comparisons between the situation described here and the situation with Afrikaans in this country, i.e. the influence of non-standard varieties of Afrikaans such as Coloured Afrikaans on the use of standard Afrikaans, may indicate some similarities. However, the situation in the African languages is more complex, encompassing and serious than that of Afrikaans.

- This research can also contribute to the development of culturally appropriate literacy programmes.

- Important contributions of this research lie in the provision of information, which if used thoughtfully, could lead to the improvement of access to education for many black South African children, as well as to improvement in the appropriateness of the curriculum according to which they will be taught.

- Lastly, this research contributes to availing each person of their basic human right to instruction in the language of their choice and the right to their own culture and language, by propagating the recognition of the non-standard varieties of the African languages by the language planning bodies and the educational authorities.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- Linguistic analyses of the non-standard varieties are needed in order to clarify their nature and relationship with each other.

- The negative attitudes towards the standard African languages can be curbed through the introduction of upliftment programmes to promote the use of the standard language:

- providing incentives for studying these languages,
- making the youth aware of the positive consequences of learning these languages,
- promoting a change in attitude towards the standard African languages,
- re-instilling pride in these languages, and
- raising awareness of the functions and status of these languages.

- Developmental goals need to be set for the African languages - taking into consideration their new role as official languages.

- Development of these languages and planning regarding them, should be done according to these goals and in collaboration with the Language Boards, PSALB and the Educational authorities.

- Mother tongue speakers must be involved in the language planning process.

- The information provided here should be used as point of departure for modernising the African languages (corpus planning).

- Decisions need to be made about what is acceptable adoption and what is unacceptable interference.

- Use of the African languages in the media must be scrutinised and there should be close co-operation between the language authorities and the media industry.

- The new Pan South African Language Board should investigate the creation of a central standardisation body similar to that known as BAKITA operating in Tanzania.

- The functions of the non-standard language varieties should be elaborated based on an attitude survey in the metropolitan areas towards specific policy proposals regarding these varieties.

- It is imperative that guidelines regarding non-standard language use be drawn up for education.

- As the medium of instruction and the selection of other languages to be learned and taught are very emotive issues, and as they are central factors in language policy, investigation of the social implications and the feasibility of various policy alternatives, cannot be undertaken without a knowledge of people's attitudes towards various languages. It is the experience of language planners world-wide that people's attitudes towards the languages that might be involved as medium of instruction or as subjects, and towards their own home languages must be taken into account when devising and implementing policy.

- The terms "mother tongue" and "home language" must be redefined in education policies in the metropolitan areas.

- A new language education policy for the African languages is required, which will meet the needs of urban children. This implies a re-evaluation of the applicability of the standard language as basis of the language subjects (in urban areas).

- The syllabuses of the African languages need to be redesigned and made more applicable and more dynamic. Emphasis should be on the functional use of language rather than on rote learning of grammatical phenomena.

- Teachers must be equipped, through adequate and applicable training, to manage linguistic diversity in the classroom successfully.

- Improvements in teaching methodology will assist in dealing with some of the problems caused by the use of non-standard varieties in the classroom.

- Research on the medium of instruction in linguistically and culturally diverse classrooms needs to be undertaken without delay, in order to investigate models for language teaching in such circumstances.

- The language use and language acquisition of small children in the black urban communities needs to be investigated. Such a study would highlight the dynamic processes underlying the development of the BUV and its acquisition, and provide insight into phenomena such as bilingualism and the results of language contact. Such a study is also important from an educational point of view, and should investigate the specific problems related to foreign language learning from the first year of schooling.

- If the nature of the "old" forms of Tsotsitaal is to be captured in writing, a dictionary of this variety should be compiled in the near future.

CONCLUSION

- This report concludes by echoing the following pertinent statements made regarding the implementation of the resolutions taken at the LiCCA Conference mentioned in Chapter 9. These statements (PSALB, 1995:30) are equally applicable here:

  * These recommendations should not remain mere statements of intent as has been the case in the past, but should be implemented in real life.
  * It is recognised that their full implementation may not be possible with immediate effect, but steps should be taken immediately to ensure a gradual movement in this direction.
  * In the implementation process the language authorities should make full use of the available expertise in the field of languages and culture promotion, including language planning specialists and educationists.

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APPENDIX A

List of members serving on the various STANON Committees:

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Prof. C.T. Msimang	(Chairman)
Prof. R. Finlayson	
Prof. D.P. Lombard	
Prof. S.M. Serudu	
Prof. E.B. van Wyk	
Dr K.V. Calteaux	(HSRC - ex officio)
Dr G.K. Schuring	(HSRC - ex officio)

MAIN COMMITTEE

Prof. C.T. Msimang	(Zulu)	(Chairman)
Prof. R. Finlayson	(Xhosa)	
Prof. D.P. Lombard	(Northern Sotho)	
Prof. S.M. Serudu	(Northern Sotho)	
Prof. E.B. van Wyk	(Northern Sotho)	
Prof. A.S. Davey	(Swati)	
Prof. D.N. Jafta	(Xhosa - Transkei)	
Mr. J.W.P. Mashike	(Tswana)	
Prof. T.W. Muloiwa	(Venda)	
Prof. N.L. Nkatini	(Tsonga)	
Prof. S.C. Satyo	(Xhosa - Western Cape)	
Mr P.B. Skhosana	(Ndebele)	

Mr A.P. Smit	(DET -- ex officio)
Mr M.J. Louw	(SABC - ex officio)
Dr K.V. Calteaux	(HSRC - ex officio)
Dr G.K. Schuring	(HSRC - ex officio)

WORK COMMITTEES

NDEBELE:

Mr P.B. Skhosana (Chairman)
Mr J.S. Mtsweni
Ms N.E. Skosana

NORTHERN SOTHO:

Mr P.D. Sekhukhune (Chairman)
Prof. D.P. Lombard
Prof. S.M. Serudu

SOUTHERN SOTHO:

Prof. J.M. Lenake (Chairman)
Mr E.A.S. Lesoro
Mr A.M. Moleleki

SWATI:

Mr P.J. Mabuza (Chairman)
Prof. A.S. Davey
Ms J. Dlamini

TSONGA:

Dr N.L. Nkatini (Chairman)
Mr B.B.R. Shilubana
Dr D.I. Mathumba

TSWANA:

Mr J.W.P. Mashike (Chairman)
Mrs H.E.M. Khoali
Mr M.K. Mothoagae

VENDA:

Prof. T.W. Muloiwa (Chairman)
Prof. A.E. Khuba
Mr M.J. Mafela

XHOSA - TRANSKEI:

Prof. D.N. Jafta (Chairman)
Prof. B.M. Mini
Prof. S.C. Satyo

XHOSA - WESTERN CAPE:

Prof. S.C. Satyo (Chairman)
Mr M.W. Jadezweni
Mrs X.T. Sibeko

ZULU:

Prof. C.T. Msimang (Chairman)
Prof. J.S.M. Khumalo
Prof. J.B. Hlongwane

APPENDIX B

B.1: BLACK URBAN VERNACULARS

B.1.1: Pretoria Sotho (Schuring, 1985:1)

A.	*Re tsamaya ra bôna garden ê pila ê pila kô die êf.*	A.	While we were walking we saw a very pretty garden in (section) F.
B.	*Mm.*	B.	Mm
A.	*Mind you, ke re: 'Joey, garden êna e pila man'. 'Aga, djy hoef nie te worry.'*	A.	Mind you, I say: 'Joey, this garden is pretty man.' (He says:) 'Ah, you don't need to worry.'
B.	*I'm sure it is.*	B.	I'm sure it is.
A.	*'Ke tlô kerêya motho', a re, 'o tla y'ira.'*	A.	'I will find someone,' he says, 'he will do it.'
	A re a re kô nna, a re: 'Le ka selemo ke hira motho wa planta wa planta wa planta, nna ke tla e nosetsa.'		He says, he says to me, he says: 'And in the summer I will hire someone, and he will plant and plant and plant and plant, and me, I shall water it.'
	Matsogo a gae gore a touch-ê mmu - (B laughs) wa itse, Joey, wa itse wa nyonya. A ke itse gore o bjang, wa itse.		That his hands should touch the soil - (B laughs) you know, Joey, you know, he is fussy. I don't know how he is, you know.
B.	*Wa tswafa.*	B.	He is lazy.

B.1.2: TEMBISA: Mixed language (Calteaux, 1994:330,331)

Itopic yethu kuzoba, kusho ukuthi sihlangene emeeting yethu sizokhuluma mhlawumbe ngokuvalwa kwa manzi elokishini niyabona, bavale amanzi elokishini manje sizokhuluma ngendlela yokuthi why bavale amanzi elokishini .... Ja. Manje bavale amanzi elokishini and manje sifuna ukwazi ukuthi bawavaleleni lamanzi lawa. Sicela maybe kuthi omunye phakathi kwethu asho ukuthi amanzi bawavaleleni ... Nna ka go bona ga ka ke bona gore no metse ba wa koetsi eh, ka gore go waliwa ko lokshini then batho ba ba try gore no if maybe go a etsagala gore masole a kitimise batho a shapa ditear-gas ba se ke ba gona go ya ko metsing gore re saver.... ke the way le nna ke inkang ka teng	Our topic will be, meaning that we have gathered in this meeting to talk about the possible closing off of water supply in the townships, you see, they closed-off the water supply in the township, now we shall talk about why they closed off the water supply in the township ... yes. Now they closed off the water in the townships now we want to know why they closed off the water. We ask that maybe one of us should say why they closed off the water. According to my perception, I think that they closed off the water because of the unrest in the townships so that when the soldiers perhaps chase people and throw tear-gas at them, they should not be able to go to the water - so that we can save (water). That is the way I take it.
Oh umfowethu uyabeka ukuthi lamanzi bawavala ngoba abafana lana elokishini bashaya amaphoyisa and manje amaphoyisa la manzi awavalela ukuthi uma bashaya amatear-gas bangakwazi ukuziprotector bona.... Singacela ukuthi mhlawumbe wena .... hayi mina ngombono wami ehh, ngibona ukuthi mina ehh, amanzi bawavale ngokuthi asibhadali irent, so babona ukuthi ngcono bavale amanzi maybe if ever sikhulumisana nabo ukuthi sizobhadala irent bazosilungisela wona.....	Oh, my brother sees that they have closed off the water because the boys have hit the police and the police have thus closed off the water so that when they throw the tear-gas, they (the boys) will not be able to protect themselves ... We ask that maybe you ... Not me, the way I see it I think that they closed off the water because we are not paying rent, so they think that it is better to close off the water and once we perhaps negotiate with them that we will pay rent, they will open it up ...
Oh manje seniraise ezinto ezitwo, singathola enye futhi, singathola enye futhi, kuthi mhlawumbe bawavale kanjani amanzi ..... ene ne ke re ke tlo boa ka yona le nna gore while ehh, bo kwetsi metsi meanwhile re batla go a sebedisa wabona. Ja, ke gore maybe a re sa patela rente, so that is why maybe ba wa koetsi. Gotsho gore ke diproblem tse two a go na	Oh, now you have raised two things, can we find another one regarding perhaps how they closed off the water, and I also wanted to mention that while, eh, they close off the water, we want to use it, you see. It is because we are not paying rent, so that is perhaps why they cut off the water supply. That means there are two problems here ...

So, what I think they didn't close (cut water supply) these water purposely, some of the pipes are damaged and those people from the municipality cannot come and repair those water pipes because there is lot of violence and their cars are victimised. Now singenza kanjani ngoba lamanzi not to say siprotector ... siziprotector ngamanzi ezintweni eziningi, siyapheka ngamanzi, siyawasha ngamanzi and uma bawavalile asisadli manje elokishini, abatwana abancane baphuza amanzi, siwasha ngamanzi, sipheka namanzi. Le nna ke re ..... fetsa molato gore re kgone go gwetsha metse ao gape re patele rente .... solution, gore problem ya metse gore e feele bjang ... ka go patela rente...	So what I think is that they did not cut off the water supply on purpose, some of the pipes are damaged and those people from the municipality cannot come and repair water pipes because there is a lot of violence and their cars are damaged. Now what can we do, because this water, not to say that we protect ... we protect ourselves with water in many things, we cook with water, we wash with water and when they close it off, are we not supposed to eat in the township, little children drink water we wash with water, we cook with water. I also say ... to solve the problem so that we could get water supply again we should pay rent ... the solution to the problem of water supply is to pay rent.
Mina ngibona ukuthi kungcono simarcheni siye khona le e-ofisini sibatshele ukuthi no irent kumele bayehlise	I think that it is better that we should march to the office and tell them that they should reduce the amount of rent ...
Hey manje iproblem yethu sizoyisolve kanjani uma kunje, asembeni siyobhadala irent, ... sizobulawa yini manje, manje bewuthi siyibhadalephi ... and ngathi uyi-one othi sibhadele irent, kufanele uqonde ukuba kuneproblem yepolitiki eTembisa kalokhu, irente kayisabhadalwa, ngani, kunenkinga phakathi ko mphakathi waseTembisa, kanye noMasipala waseTembisa, ngakho ipolitiki iyasiphoqelela ukuba ukuthi irente ingabhadalwa ngakho-ke	So now how are we going to solve our problem if it is in this way, let's go and pay rent ... are we going to die then, now where do you think we must pay it ... and it seems as if it is only one person who says that we must pay rent, you must consider that there is a political problem in Tembisa, mind you, rent is no longer being paid because there is a problem between the residents of Tembisa and the municipality of Tembisa, thus politics forces us not to pay rent, therefore ...
Mina ngibona ipoint yokuba simarchele laphaya, izasichithela isikhathi, asihlaleni asibhadali rent, ndiyaqonda mfondini mara sizohlala singayibhatali le rent sizawudlani, eh, kuyakufanele sithumele .... mabili ayosithethela laphaya ngokuba uyaqonda ukuba kulamalanga simarcher, abafowethu bayadutyulwa, bayadutyulwa mfowethu, kufanele uyiqonde leyonto ukuba bayadutyulwa..... Ngakho kufanele kuthunyelwe amanqina ayosithethela laphaya kumasipala.	I think that the point that we should march there, will waste our time, let's stay without paying rent, do you understand my brothers that if we stay without paying rent, what will we eat, eh, we are supposed to send tyres (messengers) to talk on our behalf there, because you understand that nowadays when we march, our brothers are shot, they are shot, my brothers, you must realise that they are shot ... therefore we must send representatives to talk on our behalf at the municipality.
Alright, kusho ukuthi kukhona manje izinto eziyitwo, kumele kuphume amanqina yitwo ayo ... kumasipala, kumele kubhatalwe irent, e go better re vote.	Alright, it means that there are two things, it is better that there are two representatives to ... at the municipality, it is better that we pay rent, it is better that we vote.

B.1.3: DAVEYTON STREET LANGUAGE

The following expressions were recorded in Daveyton (Khumalo, 1995:118):

UNompumelelo uthanda kibo.	Nompumelelo likes her home.
UThemba umesha noNtombi.	Themba is in love with Ntombi.
Phumzile ubuyaphi wembethe kahle kanjena?	Phumzile where are you going when you are so beautifully dressed?
Bebegijimisana babinge ukudlana ngamazinyo.	They chased one another in so much that they nearly killed each other.
Ufuna ukuxotha abanye.	He wants to chase others.
Kungcono makangavelelwa ngilokho okumvezile.	It is better when he is faced with that which exposed him.

The matrix language in these examples is Zulu. The underlined words are embedded Ndebele words. The standard forms of the above are the following:

UNompumelelo uthanda kubo.
UThemba uthandana noNtombi.
Phumzile uyelaphi uqqoka kahle kanje?
Bebegijimisana bahlose ukudlana ngamazinyo.
Ufuna ukuxosha abanye.
Kungcono uma evelelwa yilokho okumvezile.

B.2 COLLOQUIALISED ARGOTS

B.2.1 AFRIKAANS-BASED TSOTSITAAL

Flaaitaal (Afrikaans-based Tsotsitaal) (Schuring, 1983:119):

Eendag ek gaan uit da by my joint in.	One day I left my home.
Ek sê nee, well ek tlheri, ek gaan dorp toe.	I said, no well I'm leaving, I'm going to town.
Well sharp.	Right, fine.
Meet ana bra van myne.	I meet one of my friends.
Nou ek het my nzangana hieso bô my body.	Now I have my reference book here on my body.
Ei well ek sê nee sharp.	Right, I say no fine.
Kyk hieso my bra, ons gaan net somma daso bô die dorp so biekies Bianco stjep.	Look here my friend, let's just go to town to have a couple of drinks.
Hulle sê nee well mnca.	They say no, well, fine.
So mnca se goetes zaaies.	Such things are nice.
Well, never nie mind.	Right, it does not matter.
Well, ons gaan da by die stasie.	Right, we go to the station.
Net toe ons jab daso by die stasie, ons gaan by die treine.	As we arrive at the station, we go to the trains.
Well, da trek die bomba.	Well, there goes the train.
Ek staan daas, da kom die magatas van Oom-Rale-hulle.	While I was still standing there, the constables of Uncle Riley and them arrive there.
Hulle sê khwathazisa.	They ask searching questions.
Hulle khwathazisa vô die shushanas, ende kry om te sê, nee ek het nie a shushana.	They search for knives and they find: no, I don't have a knife.
Nou ons gaan na daso bô Pakie.	Then we go to Parktown station.
Ek sê nou, waas my nzangana?	I say now, where is my reference book?
Ek kry my nzangana is nie da.	I can't find my reference book.
Net toe ek gaan buitekant da Pakie dat kom toe gatas.	Just as I left Parktown station, some constables arrive.
Hulle sê nee my brigeit, kyk hieso, waas jou nzangana?	They say no my (breker), look here, where is your reference book?
Ek sê nee, die nzangana is nie da.	I say no, my reference book is missing.
Well - hulle phaka my, hulle vat my bô trêke-goetes-buildings vang die bangles bô my handes.	Well - they catch me, they take me to jail, they put hand-cuffs on my hands.
Ek staan driekop.	I don't know what to do.
Ek sê nee, wat, wat gaat aan nou bô my?	I say no, man, what is now happening to me?
Ek sê nee well is klein goetes daaies.	I say no well those are small things.
'k Sal hulle notch.	I'll watch them.
Well - soos 'n bra.	Right - like a real friend (bra).
Well, 'k gaan net da: moen ek dons?	Right, I just go there: Must I sit in jail?
Hulle sê nee, nine-to-fifteen.	They say well, nine to fifteen years.
Ek sê nee, wat vi goetes is daaies.	I say no, what does that mean?
Ek sê nee well is klein goetes man.	I say no well, those are small things man.
Ek sal hulle notch.	I'll watch them.

Tsotsitaal (Ntshangase, 1993:129)

Standard Zulu:	**Tsotsitaal:**	**English:**
Umhlaba lo unamagangangozi. Ungathi izinto zizolunga, bhudubhudu inkonyane isiwuchithile umuthi. Bheka zolo lokhu besijabulile, izinto zonke zimi ngomuno, kodwa namuhla? Hhawu, ngimfunge udadewethu uNomusa. Sesodela sifile mntanomuntu.	*Liyeve is kaak. Jy kan dink om te se dinge sal moja is, maar gozi gozi hulle is majaja. Notch, net nou gister ons grand is, tcheck nou? Waar, ek witi jou my broer. Ons sal notch hoe dinge vayiya.*	Life is bad. You can think that things will be alright, but quickly things become bad. Look here, just recently we were alright, but look now. Truly, I am telling you. We shall see how things turn out.

Johannesburg Tsotsitaal (Mfusi, 1990:5,6)

A:	*Heit, ou beau! Hoez it?*	A:	Hello pal! How's it?
B:	*Is dolly, my bra. Verder?*	B:	Fine, pal! What can you tell me?
A:	*Sweet. Jy's bietjie skaars. Waar chaaf jy jouself?*	A:	Nothing except that you are pretty scarce. Where have you been hiding?
B:	*Ek is bu die round, my bra. Is net om te sê ek het baie dulate. Jy ken mos hoe's lannies. Hulle het ons moet zaak. Sê vir my. Waar kan ons gaan blom? Ek wil net twee poplas gaan blaas. Gisteraand, ek het 'n hajaa van gin genyanya. Nou voel ek bietjie dors.*	B:	I am around. Just a little busy at work. You know how Whites are, very stingy with money. Tell me, where can we relax and have two quarts of beer? Yesterday evening I drank half a bottle of gin. Now I have a hang-over.
A:	*Is chandies, my bra. Ek is lus vandag. Laat ons die magrison gaan vas. Maarjy ken wat. Ek skuld die ou lady nog. Ek sê, ek was buro oorla Bhiza se cabin gisteraand. Ek het hom toppie gang chinny geche.*	A:	Shame! I am penniless today, pal. How will it be if we could go and persuade the old lady to give us liquor on credit. By the way, I still owe her some money. Yesterday afternoon I went to the late Bhiza's place and gave his father a lot of money.

TEMBISA: Afrikaans-based Tsotsitaal (Calteaux, 1994:334,335)

Heita my bra, my bra hoe gaan dit man?	Hello, my friend, my friend how are you?
Hey steady hoezit hey man?	Hey, I'm fine and you man?
Hey double dolly - stadig - cher daai ash try daar man, nee hierso, hierso.	No, I'm very well ... okay - give me an ashtray, no here.
Hey my bra man ek het andɛr piece gekoop daar man jy's ou Spokes Mashiyana man.	Hey, man I bought a certain piece there man at your old Spokes Mashiyana man.
Hy slaan wat - hey man is 'n toeka, jy ken mos .... toeka, toeka, toeka.	What is he beating - hey man is a lady you know ... ladies, ladies.
Heyi moenie sê man.	Hey, don't say it man.
Hey niloku nisho abo toeka benu nisho ukuthi thina asibonakali?	Hey, you are talking about your ladies, do you mean you don't see us?
Nee man mamma, mammas wag net so bietjie man mamma ... hulle praat van ou ... Spokes Mashiyana ... nee man ... heyi hey wavela eStandard Bank Arena man ... hela ... hy was baie sleg man ... julle ken ou Spokes Mashiyana maar, ahhhhh ... ey daai ... hy's baie slim ... daai is so maar - hey daai ou is 'n goeie ou ...	No man mommy, wait a bit man mommy .. they are talking about old ... Spokes Mashiyana ... no man ... he comes from Standard Bank Arena man ... he was very cruel ... you know old Spokes Mashiyana. Ahh ... that one ... he is very clever ... that one is alright - hey that man is a good man ...
Nou hoezit my bra - my bra, hey is waar man, is waar, nee man - ons praat van ousies man, nee man, luister na Letta Mbulu hulle ... "Sahamba no Dudu Sayofuna iSangoma safik' isangoma sathi umntwana uyagula - umntwana uyagula ..."	Now how is it my friend - my friend, it's okay, it's okay man, we are talking about ladies man, no man, listen to Letta Mbuli's ... *"Sahamba no Dudu Sayofuna iSangoma safik' isangoma sathi umntwana uyagula - umntwana uyagula ..."* (name of a song)

Hey onthou daar by Kofifi daar - hey my bra ek sê vir jou - waar was julle ousies ... wat van Bump Jive man ... Thula Mabota heeee ... waar wa julle in Kliptown, eh Kliptown, sê vir hulle man, Klepie Moeketsi - Pa pa di pe pa pe - di ba ba pe pa ...	Hey, do you remember there at Sofiatown - Hey my friend I tell you - where were those ladies ... who dance bump jive ... *Thula Mabota* heee ... Where in Kliptown, eh Kliptown, tell them man, Klepie Moeketsi - *pa pa di pe pa pa pe di ba ba pe pa* (song) ...
Double dolly my boss, double dolly my boss ... nie die tyd van hierdie tsotsis hulle rook dagga hulle hart anders, hey man, hulle .... hulle is baie dom daai seuntjies, toeka, ons koop net 'n record, ons wil nie alless ... Alless ... ja, nie van julle die mammas man - ou Brook Benton..	Very good my friend, very good my friend ... not this type of tsotsis who smoke dagga and hurt others, hey man, they are so stupid these boys. Lady, we are just buying a record, we don't want to listen to everything, not your ladies man - Brook Benton ...
Ek het hulle, wat van - ek het hulle - luister nou aan - Letta Mbulu en vat jou Spokes Mashiyana ne ...	I have it ... what about ... I have it - listen to Letta Mbulu and take your Spokes Mashiyana.
Ei, ei, daai is 'n twee en 'n tien daai, ... Abigail Kubheka, hey that thing ... hey man ek sê vir julle, ek sê vir julle, luister na Spokes Mashiyana ... ei, ei, daai ou is gevaarlik.	Fine, hey, that's a two and a ten ... Abigail Kubheka, hey that thing ... Hey man I tell you, listen to Spokes Mashiyana ... hey that man is dangerous.

B.2.2 AFRICAN LANGUAGE-BASED COLLOQUIAL ARGOTS

Zulu-based Tsotsitaal (Schuring, 1983:132)

Nayi i-outi, ing'sukela da die ou.	Here is a guy, he attacks me there, this guy.
Ing'nyundel' ideba.	He says terribly slanderous things about me.
Ithi izong'hlaba amakhala.	He says he will hit me on the nose.
Ek sê: Heyi, mfo uyadiala.	I say: Hey, you're playing my brother.
Usesemuva kabi.	You are far behind.
Uzohlaba mina.? Hmm!	You will hit me? Ha!
Khuluma, ngizokubusha bulind!	Talk, I'll butcher you completely!
Ngizokubusha bulind!	I'll butcher you completely!

Soweto Iscamtho (Ntshangase, 1993:129)

Standard Zulu:	**Soweto Iscamtho:**	**English:**
Umhlaba lo unamagangangozi. Ungathi izinto zizolunga, bhudubhudu inkonyane isiwuchithile umuthi. Bheka zolo lokhu besijabulile, izinto zonke zimi ngomuno, kodwa namuhla? Hhawu, ngimfunge udadewethu uNomusa. Sesodela sifile mntanomuntu.	*Iliyeve inswembu. Ungadenka ukuthi izinto zizoba moja, bhayibhayi sekunswembu. Jaja, net nou nou besijabulile, zonke izinto zivaya grend, maar nou? Hha, ngiyakutshayela mfethu. Sobona nje isikhathi masivaya.*	Life is bad. You can think that things will be alright, but quickly things become bad. Look here, just recently we were alright, but look now. Truly, I am telling you. We shall see how things turn out.

TEMBISA: Zulu-based Tsotsitaal (Calteaux, 1994:337-339)

Hey son nawa lamagents, hey bheka nanka aya nga-daar, babuyaphi lama-outy, hey nibuyaphi magents?	Hey my friend, look there are those gents, look here, they are going that side, where do these guys come from? Hey, where do you come from?
Aah, eintlik, magents thina siqhamuka nga-daar eSpruit (Katlehong) uyathola, ja, eintlik manje siright sishaya iround nabothekeni bethu yathola nawe simakile nje siwumkhambathi.	Ah, in fact, gents, we are coming from that side at Spruit (Katlehong), you understand, yes, otherwise now we are okay, we are taking a walk with our girlfriends you understand, we have our girlfriends, we are in a group.
Ahh, manje bengingathi ubani lo omunye ucherry, mina ngazi omunye ucherry plus manje kanti kawu ungibekaphi ngomntwana?	Ah, now what is the name of this other lady, I know the other lady and by the way where do you place me with the girlfriend?
Ha, eintlik mfowethu mina ..... or uthekeni wami ...	In fact, my friend, I ... it's my girlfriend ...
Oh, uthekeni wakho?	Oh, your girlfriend?
Ja, uthekeni wami, oh, ha, kawu mina vele ngiyamazi lomuntu.	Yes, it's my girlfriend. Oh, well I definitely know this person.
Sure ngimphethe kawu ...	Sure, I've got her ...
Hawu umphethe, usayibambile kawu?	You've got her - do you still have her?
Sure ngisayibambile.	Sure, I still have her.
Ja, manje ngibona umanono (cherry) lana ngicavi ukuthi zisha ngani, haa, eintlik ngayi, hay icherry yebra yami kawu, ungaworry uyabona.	Yes, when I see the lady here, I see she is yours, haa, in fact she is my brother's girlfriend man, don't worry, you see.
Ja, eintlik ubani igama lakhe, nee, mina ngiyibra ka Doda yabona ... ngiwinder (stay) naye vele eTembisa, same kasie (lokasie/location) ah, nga-daar, abekho abondlebembili, ah, nga-daar siyabasonta, manje isituation yanga-daar injani?	Yes, in fact, what is her name. Fine, I am a brother of Doda you see ... I stay with her in Tembisa, same location, ah, that side where there are no outsiders, that side where we check them, now, how is the situation on that side?

Ha, eintlik, - ngoba ngizwa bathi ..... nga-daar - abondlebembili sibaphethe ngosiko lepatrol Joe, manje bheka, right mthakathi ngiyathola sewukhuluma ngepatrol, ene, right abomanono asikabameet ukuthi abobani, die siza (sister) ngingathi uwubani.	Ha, in fact, because I hear people say that ... at that side we discipline them with a petrol system Joe, now look, right, witch, I understand you are now talking about petrol, fine, right, we have not yet known the names of these ladies, this sister, what is her name.
Ha bheka manje ngathi manje sewufuna ukungishaya ngestina (steen/brick) no, kusho ukuthi manje, right kumele sicavane uyathola singamagents	Ha, look now, it seems as if you want to take my girlfriend, no, it means that we must understand each other as gents ...
Hayi bafowethu ngiya kena ukuthi ubra wakho ufuna ukuthini, ah, mina nginguHilda, nje uyacava angithi nawe.	No, my friends, I know what this guy wants to say, ah, I am Hilda, so you understand now.
Sure ... kumele uringe phela, manje usiza yena kanjani?	Sure, it's better that you talk, why don't you help her now?
Hayi, uSisPhume lona yobona, uyacava - Phume wena uyangijaja?	No, sister Phume you see understands, Phume do you know me?
Ja, ngiyakucava, kuphi?	Yes, where have I seen you?
Daar ka Mike.	At Mike's place.
Oh ka Mike, oh konje unokucover daar?	Oh, at Mike's place, do you sometimes go there?
Ja! Oh neh, no sengiyakuthola ... hey, eintlik manje right uzokutshela uManono, abagcwalisele mntwana, ...	Yes, oh fine, now I remember you. Hey, now that lady will tell you, inform them lady ...
Eintlik nginguWiny igama lami yabona so, eintlik ngathi ngike ngakubona, konje sahlanganaphi?	In fact, I am Winnie, that's my name you see, in fact it seems as if I once saw you, by the way where did we meet?
Hayi angicavi, hayi ngiyakucava man, serious man, akusiwuwe lo besinaye le ka .... konje ubani man hey - ka Sdumo?	No, I don't know, no, I know you man, serious man. Isn't it you whom we have been with at ... by the way who is that man at Sdumo's place?
Hayi! ah, man sasi-daar soyitwo. Hayi maybe baye babonana somewhere asindluleni kuleyo .... asibone	No, ah, we were there the two of us. No maybe they once met somewhere, let's leave that ... let's see ...

Eintlik mina ngingakutshela ukuthi ubani.	Actually, I can tell you who he is.
Hayi, manje why ubuy iskelm uzobe ukuthi manje	No, why are you now becoming a crook ...
Eintlik nginesikhwele nginenhliziyo embi, nee, ...	Actually, I am jealous, I have a bad heart ...
Ja, eintlik nginikwe abondlebembili ...	Yes, actually, I am giving you two strangers...
Asikhulume ngenye into, alright, nami bingithi ... sesizogcina sishayana ngezithina ngento engekho	Let's talk about something else, alright, I want to say that we will end up hitting each other with bricks over nothing ...
Manje awufake iBertrams, ah, son iBertrams... ufake ingcosi, ah, ... awuthi inkawuza, eh kawu ncinza, sure	Now, let's pour some Bertrams, ah, my friend, Bertrams ... have some dagga, ah, give us a cigarette, eh, take friend, sure ...
Eintlik izinto zabo gogo lezo .... kumele uthole umqondo ... manje ...	Actually, those are things for grannies ... you must find something strong ... now ...
Right anisaseti abantwana bethu nje ngamajuice right nabo bathole ukuthi ha... sizowakhipha ngapha lapha ku cooler bag.	Right, give our ladies juice so that they find out that we shall take them out of the cooler bag.
Ayi ngisho manje bafuna ukumix neBertrams uyazi phela siphethe abantwana - anti bayabulawa?	No, I mean they now want to mix with Bertrams but you know that we have ladies - they are not supposed to be killed.
Abantwana bamahumsha, I mean nabo baphila isihumsha yathola hayi ukuthi manje right esontweni bayaya mara uyathola manje ukuthi sikuyiphi isituation.	Ladies of crooks, they also live like crooks not to say that they don't go to church, but you can now see the situation in which we are.
Oh, ningamahumsha nina?	Oh, are you crooks?
Sure.	Sure.
Ah, asazani namahumsha thina.	Oh, we don't associate with crooks.
Nee, manje sibona amajita wethu nga-daar sizonicava, neh ... five minutes sizophuma sonke.	No, we can see our friends on that side, we will see you, hey, five minutes, then we will all leave together.
Moja.	Fine.

B.3 SOCIAL DIALECT

TEMBISA: Iscamtho - Proposing to women (Calteaux, 1994:344-346)

OK, let's say simile ekhoneni singamagents.	Ok, let us say we are all gents standing at the corner.
Mzwandile nangu lobaby uyazi, and faan kunini ngimfuna. Eshi fana ngashaywa ivulture yazi. Hullo, Hullo saan, e, e, hhayi ungazochoma la, kanti tyini ngawe, zwakala yi.	Mzandile here is that baby and fana, I have been looking for her for too long. I just got hit by the vulture, you know (vulture = got frightened). Hallo, Hallo saan (baby). Please do not be proud (choma) what is wrong with you, come here (zwakala).
Akabatle.	I do not want to.
Konje ungubani igama lakho?	What is your name, please?
Ke nna Mary.	I am Mary.
UnguMary, hhayi mina nginguMzandile. Konje wena unguMary wakuphi?	Well, I am Mzwandile. Where do you stay Mary?
Ngihlala e.... kanti yini vele ufuna uk....	I stay at ... but why are you asking me all these questions ...
Hhayi maan bheka lana ngikhuluma nawe kahle. Ungangiphakameli manje sewufuna ukungigcwalisela, yini ungathi uyashayaka kanje.	Please be patient, I am talking nicely to you. Do you want people to see that we are not reaching any agreement, and you know I can beat you anyhow.
Ushaye ubani vele?	Who would you beat?
Ungakhohlwa ukuthi uyashayeka phela mina ngikhuluma nawe kahle, uyazi yini nbheka lana saan.	Do not forget that I can beat you. I am speaking to you decently, just understand here saan (baby).
Kanti iforced vele.	But it is by force.
Hhayi ukuthi iforced, ngikhuluma nawe kahle sizwane uyabona mina ngiyakhuluthanda uyabona manje wena uthini?	It is really not by force - I truly love you, what do you say?
Nna akegorati.	I do not love you.

Awungithandi kuza kanjani? Angeke ubone umuntu first time uma uqeda utshele uthi awumthandi kuza kanjani?	Why do you not love me? Do you just dislike people you do not know?
Ungeke ubone umuntu for the first time, wa mmotsa gore wa no rata.	You would not love a person the first time you met him.
Sisi uyazi yini bheka lana ne, not to say yonke into iyenzeka uyabona, mina ngize kuwe kuqala. Kahle so uyangiphakamela uyabona mina ngikhuluma nawe kahle uyabona angifuni ukuthi siloku siya le nale or ufuna ngikuhheshe and angijwayelanga izindaba zokuhhashana ngifuna ukukhuluma nawe kahle uyabona sizwane mina ngiyakuthanda uyabona and njengoba ngikuthanda ngiyagcwala ngawe ngize ngiyachitheka angazi ukuthi ngingakutshela ngithini.	I approached you first, but you acted very rudely. I love you - so do not beat about the bush, I do not want to harm you. I would like us to treat each other decently. I love you too much, just like the dam when it overflows (ngigcwala ngize ngiyachiteka).
E le gore o mpone kae o tlo mpotsa gore wa ngrata?	Where did you see me to tell me all this?
Angicali ukukubona kudala ngikubona ubuso bakho ngathi ngibujwayele, ngake ngakubona ucrossa ngale ngeteksi one day.	This is not the first time I am seeing you. I saw you in a taxi one day.
Ngiseteksini?	I was in a taxi?
Ya, useteksini angithi bewuhamba ngeteksi ngizokwenza njani angeke ngimise itekse ukuthi uphume.	Yes, you were in a taxi, and what could I do, I could not stop the taxi so that I could talk to you.
Hhayi, nini?	When was that?
Ngelinye ilanga.	The other day.
Hha, maan, bheka la akusizi ukuthi ngelinye ilanga bheka lento esiyikhulumayo i-easy uyabona, uyangitshela manje ukuthi uyangithanda or awungithandi, but into eyi-one ngifuna amareason wami uyabona ngoba ukukuthanda kwami ngiyazi ukuthi ngikuthandelani uyabona.	Just understand this - are you going to tell me that you love me or not, and I want some reason as I've got reasons why I love you.
Ungithandelani wena, ngitshele kuqala nami ngizokutshela ukuthi ngiyakuthanda or kanjani.	Tell me at first why do you love me then I will tell you too.

Uyazi yini bheka lana uyabona okukuqala uthe uma uqhamuka wangishaya ngaphakathi and ngithe uma ngikubhekile uyabona ukuthi ngabona ukuthi ngingafanelana nawe and okwestwo ukuthi ngathi uyibhari negashu yakho ayikuthandisisi kahle noma ngingayazi uyabona ayikufaneli mina ngibona ngokufanela and mina ngizimilsele ukuthi yonke into yami ngicommunicator kahle.	Look here, when I see you, you strike me inwardly; we can suit each other; your stupid boyfriend does not love you; and I am prepared to make the communication between us smooth.
Hha, mina ngibona ungangifaneli wena.	I do not think you suit me.
Why usho kanjalo?	Why do you say that?
Nje, vele nje ...	Just because ...
Angithi uthe uzongitshela ukuthi why ungangithandi manje nami ngisakugcwalisela ngisho nasekhaya ngingaku-introducer ... Singayibeka kanjani lendaba.	You said you would tell me the reasons, and to add on that, I can even introduce you to my parents ...
Kungcono ngiyozicabanga ekhaya ngizokutshela kusasa ke.	I will think it over at home, I will tell you tomorrow.
Hha, but kuyafana nje same answer ozongitshela yona kusasa ayifani nalena?	What difference does your answer make - tomorrow's answer wouldn't it be like today's answer?
Hhayi, angithi izabe ingcono mhlawumbe.	No, it might be better.
Izabe ingcono. Ne sharp ne.	It will be much better - Sharp.
Hey, mzwandile emfana, uyazi loya baby loyana ungiqomile uyazi.	Mzwandile, that girl has accepted my proposal.

B.4 FANAKALO

(Circular from a mine manager to the employees) (Calteaux, 1994:347)

Lo ba phati yena fisela zonke lo basebenzi nalo masapho kayena futi nalo bangani kayena futi nalo bangani kayena muhle mpilo kalo skat lo kalo vota kalo langa kalo 27th April 1994.	Management wishes all of the employees and their families and friends well during the election on 27th April 1994.
Yena makulu langa lapa katina zonke, zonke funeka tina vota kalo ku qhosha kalo party lo tina sapota.	It is indeed a great day for all of us and each of us must vote with pride for the party we support.
Lo ndawo kalo vota lapa kalo mayin yena enzeliwe wen, funeka wena jobisa yena, ndaba kuhamba vota kude yena azi velisa wena longozi munye skat.	The polling station on the mine is for your convenience so please use it, as travelling further to the other stations may be risky.
Funeka tina vuma lo sipumo kalo vota kuti nyanis yena lo gavament kalo zonke lo sizwe runela tina zonke tina jabulela lo ***NYUWAN SOUTH AFRICA*** *lo yena patelile tina maningi muhle zinto.*	May we all accept the outcome of the election as a true democratic nation and together enjoy the **NEW SOUTH AFRICA** which can hold so much for all of us.

Standard and non-standard African language varieties in the urban areas of South Africa

Preservation of the standard language vs. recognition of the changing nature of language use

This publication presents the results of seven years of countrywide research into the differences between standard and non-standard African languages in South Africa. Various non-standard languages are developing owing to extensive contact between speakers of different African languages as well as a changing environment. The impact these non-standard languages have on the use of the standard African languages, is a relatively recent subject of study. This report describes the nature of non-standard African languages and documents their salient characteristics from a social as well as a linguistic perspective. It also highlights the impact of non-standard language use in the educational sphere. Within the current education system, the increasing use of non-standard language in the classroom often has dire consequences for the pupil and for the traditional language. The current emphasis on access to education and appropriateness of the curriculum, underlines the relevance of the information presented here.

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